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**THE SELF-DISCOVERY  
OF RUSSIA**

*BY THE SAME AUTHOR*

SIDELIGHTS ON SIBERIA.

HENRY DRUMMOND.

THE SPIRITUAL INTERPRETATION  
OF NATURE.





Да сбудутся мечты завѣтныя Россіи,  
 Да вознесетъ ее величіе побѣды!  
 Нашъ Цареградъ, крестъ на Свят. Софіи,  
 Враги покорены, и миръ на много лѣтъ!

A A POPULAR PICTURE POSTCARD EMBLEMATIC OF THE REPLACING OF THE CROSS ON ST. SOPHIA BY RUSSIA IN ROOM OF THE CRESCENT.

"LET THE SACRED DREAMS OF RUSSIA BE REALIZED.  
 LET THE GREATNESS OF VICTORIES RAISE HER!  
 OUR TZARGRAD IS THE CROSS ON ST. SOPHIA.  
 THE ENEMIES ARE DEFEATED, NOW PEACE FOR EVER!"





**THE  
SELF-DISCOVERY  
OF RUSSIA**

**BY  
J. Y. SIMPSON**

**LONDON  
CONSTABLE AND COMPANY LTD.**

**1916**

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TO  
**RUSSIA**

MERCIFUL IN VICTORY

PATIENT AND CALM IN TRIBULATION

AND WITH THE VISION

TO ACT AND TO ENDURE



## PREFACE

THE following pages deal with some aspects of the self-discovery of Russia, as these were visible in the summer of 1915. Part of the second section of Theme III has appeared in "The Contemporary Review," and Theme IV is substantially as it was published in "The Hibbert Journal." Any suggestion of dogmatism in the passages relating to foreign affairs is simply due to the fact that they are based upon conversations with two or three of the highest Russian authorities on that subject. Where many are concerned who have aided me in various particulars it is difficult to make detailed acknowledgment, but I cannot refrain from expressing my gratitude to a friend through many years, Mr. A. N. Koulomzine, President of the Council of the Empire, without whose interest some of the following experiences would not have been possible. At the same time he is not responsible for any of the opinions stated in the book.

EDINBURGH, *February*, 1916.



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# THE SELF-DISCOVERY OF RUSSIA

## PRELUDE

IN a recent charming essay entitled "The Soul of Russia" (*Dusha Rossii*), Nicolai Berdyaev pictures his country, hitherto separated and apart from the cultural life of Europe, misunderstood and unappreciated in the West except by "a few select individuals," as face to face with the hour of her showing forth unto the world. "That which has worked ceaselessly in the depths of the Russian spirit is no longer to be provincial and confined in its manifestation: the Slav race with Russia at its head is henceforth called to a defining rôle in the life of humanity. Yet the realisation of the world tasks of Russia cannot be left to the arbitrament of the elemental forces of history: there is a call to creative effort on the part of the national will and spirit." Then suddenly the writer is afflicted with a doubt. "But even if the peoples of the West will in the end be forced to see the unique image of Russia and to acknowledge her mission, is it so clear that we ourselves know what Russia is, and to what she is called? Even for us Russia remains an unsolved mystery,—Russia, so contradictory and full of antinomies." And then he falls back on Tiutchev's lines:

"You cannot understand Russia by the intelligence;  
You cannot measure her by the ordinary foot-rule;  
She has her own peculiar conformation;  
You can only believe in Russia."

Now it is just because Berdyaev is right that it is possible to speak of the Self-discovery of Russia. She has been surprising the world, but she has also been surprising herself. Under the stress of a war that is popular, as the Russo-Japanese War never was, the country is being educated in a way that pages of Imperial Rescript or months of Duma debate could not have done. There is a very real sense in which Russia will gain more out of the war than any other of the Great Powers involved, since she will have evolved politically in its few years through stages that have taken other countries centuries to pass. Very noteworthy is the intensification of life that expresses itself in a myriad forms, yet is not everywhere in evidence, for there are vast domains of life that have been not so much paralysed as weakened by the war. Apart from this, however, the war is a great national effort with incalculable moral consequences. It has further revolutionised the economic life of the villages in particular, through the vodka prohibition. Small wonder that the biggest German miscalculations since the commencement of hostilities have been about Russia.

Again, in the essay to which reference has already been made, Berdyaev quotes the well-known legend from the dawn of Russian history, which tells how that people sent an invitation to the foreign Varyags to come and administer their territory: "Our land is vast and plentiful," they said, "but there is no order in it." And the essayist continues: "How characteristic that was of the fatal incapacity and lack of desire on the part of the Russian people to produce order in their land! It is as if the Russian people did not wish a free empire,—did not so much wish freedom in their empire as freedom from empire, freedom from all care of earthly management. The Russian people does not wish to be a domineering superior; its nature is passive, rather gentle, ready to obey,—more like that of a wife than that of a husband. Passive, receptive in its relation to imperial matters and power,—

such is the character of the Russian people and of their history. There are no limits to the meek patience of the long-suffering Russian people." Just in the degree in which the truth of these words is realised is the mind of the observer filled with admiration as he studies the details of the process under which Russia has discovered her capacity for organisation, as evidenced in the work of the Unions of the Towns and Zemstvos (County Councils). It is perhaps the most characteristic feature in the activities of Russia to-day. Hitherto she has been accustomed to a Government that has done everything for the people, but under the pressure of the war that Government has sought the assistance and co-operation of the people, and they have been learning how to organise. What above all was necessary in Russia was not so much liberty of speech or of the Press as liberty of sound action, and that she has been given as at no other stage in her history. Too often the internal relations of Russia have been depicted in this country as those of a bureaucracy and a democracy continuously in conflict, with the former as a kind of evil genius. There could be no profounder mistake. Bureaucracy is not necessarily an evil. Everything depends upon its spirit, and a bureaucracy can be improved and changed if its spirit is changed. To-day there is a great struggle going on in the Russian bureaucracy itself between the more progressive and the more conservative elements. That bureaucracy is very far from being a mere homogeneous mass of reactionary outlook.

To return to Berdyaev once again. "Imperial power," he says, "was always an external, not an internal principle in the mind of the unimperialistic Russian people. It did not grow out of them but came to them from the outside, as a bridegroom comes to his bride. And that is why power frequently produced the impression of something foreign,—a sort of German power." One very characteristic feature in this process of self-discovery has been the awakened sensitivity to everything that is

distinctively Russian, and the humiliation with which it has been realised to what a degree the economic and mental life of the nation has been permeated by the German influence. That this should have been so is in no kind of a way remarkable on geographical or ethnographical grounds. What we are apt to forget is that there was a long period when this end was deliberately sought by Russia, an era during which, in short, she was endeavouring to come to a lasting understanding with Germany. The policy of Alexander II was a policy of alliance with Germany, and the development of it was placed in the hands of one of the noblest of living Russians. England was "the natural enemy." Of the behaviour of republican France Russia could never be sure, thinking that her desire for alliance was simply part of a scheme to aid her in the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine. Allied with Germany, Russia would be safe : she could follow her own ends and retain her interests in the East in spite of her one adversary, England. The alliance with Germany ensured the neutrality of Austria. France would not move for fear of an attack by Germany.

Upon the death of Alexander II, his son Alexander III succeeded him, and would have nothing to do with Germany. It was he who inaugurated the alliance with France. There were two main reasons for this profound change in foreign policy. The first was that Alexander III came to believe that if Russia and Germany were allied there would be no counterpoise, that Germany and Russia together would be too strong for any other combination of Powers that might seek to maintain an equilibrium against them, and that after Germany, with the assistance of Russia, had succeeded in her aims, she would then turn upon her ally and rend her. The second reason for the change was that at the very time that the Russian Ambassador was engaged in conversations with Bismarck at Berlin, the latter was plotting with Austria. If Germany had not gone in with Austria, Alexander III

would have followed his father's policy. The discovery of Bismarck's duplicity was the actual cause or stimulus that led to the change in policy. Germany and Austria entered into alliance in 1878. From that date it was clear that there could not be perfect friendship between Russia and Germany, inasmuch as the Slav question hopelessly sundered Austria and Russia. The forceful absorption of Bosnia-Herzegovina made the Austrian policy unmistakable. Germany homologated the action of her ally in that issue, and Russia sheered off.

There has been, then, a very complete reversal of policy which is being followed out not merely on the battlefield, but in every avenue of Russian public and commercial life. The war with Germany so far as Russia is concerned, is a war between two peoples, not a war between two Governments, as was the Russo-Japanese War. It is a war between two ideals of life, for even more sharply than our own, the whole Russian attitude to life stands in completest contrast to the German. The intensity of the feeling may be gathered from a conversation in a peasant home. "I have a foreboding," the old woman said one evening, "that our Ivan is going to be taken." Her husband comforted her thus: "If he is going to be taken, it means that he ought to be taken: we have to beat the Germans, and a man can only die once." Thomas Chalmers once wrote of "the expulsive power of a new affection." There is no doubt of the expulsive power in Russia to-day, and there are many indications of where the "new affection" lies, but the "abhorred" vacua must be filled. One of the great problems before our nation is, how far, and in what spirit, we can fill them.



# **THEME I**

**THROUGH UNION TO VICTORY**



## THEME I

### THROUGH UNION TO VICTORY

ON the 1st day of January, 1864, there came into existence by law one of the most characteristic of Russian administrative institutions, the Zemstvo. Distinctive in inception, constitution, and control, the Zemstvo nevertheless executes functions broadly similar to, if perhaps more inclusive than, those undertaken by our County Councils.<sup>1</sup> It concerns itself with the imposition and collection of the county and provincial rates and taxes, with the construction and upkeep of roads and bridges, with primary education, with questions of public health and public relief, with providing banking and insurance facilities for the peasants,—in short with everything that directly concerns the general well-being of country and, more particularly, agricultural conditions. So far it has been limited to the more developed parts of Russia, and is not known e.g. in Archangel, the Don Territory, the Caucasus, or even Siberia. Its membership is chiefly drawn from the landed proprietors, great and small (i.e. roughly, the nobility and the middle class) with a certain representation of clergy and peasants.

As a simple matter of fact there had been very little united action on the part of the Provincial Zemstvos—if we except arrangements between groups of two or three for loans or concerted buying of iron, or the introduction of industrial machinery—till the Russo-Japanese War,

<sup>1</sup> The District Zemstvos send representatives to compose a Zemstvo of the second degree, the Provincial or Government (Guberny) Zemstvo.

when a definite Union of all of them took place to supplement the work of the Red Cross Society in the care of the sick and wounded. This work was most efficiently done, and in the course of it there developed an organisation of first-rate importance which did not lapse at the close of the war, and continued to find scope for its activities in connection with furnishing relief during famine and in other ways. Accordingly when war broke out in August, 1914, in addition to the Red Cross Society, Russia had this other organisation which immediately got ready to take up its old rôle. The necessity for this became quickly apparent as the organisation of the Red Cross Society was not on a scale to admit of its coping with the situation as a whole.

On the other hand, the Towns of Russia, which had been invested by statute in 1870 with powers of self-government corresponding roughly to those previously granted to the Zemstvos, had not taken any united action in the Russo-Japanese War. However, soon after the commencement of the present war, members of the Moscow municipality realised that owing to the disposition of the railway trunk lines, their city would become the principal centre for the reception and distribution of the wounded, and the Town Council offered to call in the assistance of other towns and co-operate with the Government on the same general lines as the Union of the Zemstvos. The difficulty of foreseeing the scale upon which operations would take place was in part responsible for the limitations under which these offers of assistance were at first received by the Government,—e.g. the Unions were forbidden to operate west of the line Petrograd—Moscow—Kiev, which was reserved for the military and Red Cross establishments. The stream of wounded, however, quickly overflowed the Government channels prepared for their reception: numbers of men were brought from the front practically untended and unfed. The Union of the Towns was then authorised to proceed

with its programme, and immediately started to enlarge its work. The towns are grouped round six centres,—Petrograd, Moscow, Kiev, Voronesh, Tiflis, and Irkutsk.

The work of the Unions of the Towns and of the Zemstvos in this war has been one of the most remarkable features in the process of self-discovery which has been stimulated by the war. And it is all the more remarkable because organisation has never been a distinctive feature of Russian life, and anything savouring of mechanism is really abhorrent to the genius of the people. They co-operate readily enough on the basis of equality, for purposes of self-aid, where authority is not imposed on them, as the success of their artels and co-operative societies shows ; but they have never naturally taken to mechanical organisation whether imposed from without or developed from within. Nevertheless in Moscow alone preparations were made by the Union for some 65,000 beds.<sup>1</sup> The resources in equipment at the disposal of the Unions enabled them to outstrip the strictly Governmental agencies in provision for the care of the sick and wounded. Their organisations crept nearer and nearer to the actual fighting line in the form of field hospital and hospital train, tea and coffee-stalls and field shops. They were welcomed by the army, and subjected to ever increasing demands, because of their efficiency.

The Unions of the Towns and of the Zemstvos alike work under the ægis of the Red Cross Society, but the relationship is purely formal. The Russian Red Cross Society may be said to be *de facto*, though not *de jure*, a Government organisation. It is directly under the patronage of the Dowager Empress, and claims the active interest of many members of the aristocracy and bureaucracy. It receives money from both Government and private individuals. Although not strictly on the basis

<sup>1</sup> The figures given throughout this account are representative of the situation at the close of the first whole year of the war, except where the context shows the case to be otherwise.

of a business undertaking,—for its officials are normally men with many other interests,—it now has a monopoly of the administration of such work, in the sense that individuals cannot take it up apart. Active alike in peace and war, it has always appealed with success to the Russian heart, but had never any hope of being able to meet the situation developing at the front single-handed, although immediate efforts were made to increase its capacity for service. Accordingly its chief administrators were glad to secure the assistance of other organisations of kindred purpose, even when it was clear from the first that the latter would be able to work on a much larger scale. The Unions of the Towns and Zemstvos, accordingly, are granted the privileges and protection of the Red Cross Society. They are empowered e.g. to use the Red Cross symbol on their writing paper, to frank their letters, to send goods free by railway. Officials working and representing the Unions have to go as members of the Red Cross, receiving that right from the Society. Apart from this the Unions have nothing to do with the Red Cross : their relations are perfectly correct but separate. The Red Cross Society has no authority over them.

The two Unions of the Towns and of the Zemstvos have, generally speaking, the same objects. The difference between them lies in the character of their membership, which in the one case is urban and in the other drawn from the country districts. So far as their work deals with the care of the sick and wounded, they are separate institutions. For this there is an historical explanation, as there has been rivalry between the Municipalities and the Zemstvos for many years. They differ on questions of taxation and other matters. Yet perhaps into the reason for the two separate organisations there also enters a certain psychological element. The Zemstvo is for the most part composed of landed proprietors, great and small, whose tradition of fifty years, on the whole, has

been to work with the idea of giving back to the peasant in another form that which has been taken from him. There is a philanthropic note in the Zemstvo work : it is done with heart, as in the free distribution of medicine to women in child-birth. On the other hand, the towns never had the problem of the serfs. The merchants have always had the prominence in the organisations there, and the tendency of their more strictly business arrangements has been in the interests of the towns themselves considered as a whole, rather than in those of their more needy inhabitants. Yet such a distinction cannot be stressed.

The method of organisation adopted by the Union of the Zemstvos was to find out what each district was able or prepared to do, for some of them can do little and others much. With regard to the sick and wounded, the question was definitely put to the provinces involved, How many beds can you supply ? and then the wounded were sent there in these numbers. But such simplicity of working depends on many circumstances. The Governments of East Russia, e.g. Astrakhan, are at a great distance from the western frontier, and it was not so easy to transport the wounded there. The greatest number of wounded are disposed, therefore, in the west and south-west of Russia ; but every Zemstvo has been asked how many beds it can supply.

The numbers handled in this way come to be very great. In the month of December, 1914, 280,000 wounded men were treated by the Union of the Zemstvos. From the beginning of the war to July 1st, 1915, 715,879 sick and wounded—60 per cent of the whole—passed through, or stayed in, the Moscow Zemstvo institutions alone. The heavy end of the burden falls there, the unequal distribution being mainly due to the circumstance that there is not a sufficient network of railways to broaden the assignment of the wounded. This involves enormous centralisation, which in turn proves to be a very costly

method of carrying on the work. A more equal distribution would have made it possible to do the work more cheaply. In the districts under martial law, the distribution of the wounded is under the joint control of the Unions and the Ministry of War. The Ministry of War also, for example, decides, on considerations of effective control and centralisation, that wounded shall not be sent to the Governments of Archangel or Vologda. The greater part of the funds—some three-quarters—is given by the Government: the balance is supplied by the Zemstvos. The Government money is given to the Zemstvos through the Union.

The same holds true of the Union of the Towns. It collected sufficient funds to form the Union, but the actual budget provided by the cities is not large. All the aid given to the sick and wounded, their hospital trains and field hospitals, etc., are organised with funds supplied by the Government. In some cases the field hospitals are supplied by groups of individuals. Thus the advocates of Moscow, or a group of Siberian towns, or a tribe of Buryats would collect a sum of, say, fifty to sixty thousand rubles, and give it to the Union of the Towns saying, Take this money and organise a field hospital and call it by our name. If the sum was insufficient for the purpose, the Union supplied the balance out of its own funds, or in certain cases from the Government contributions.

A good example of the initiative and enterprise exerted by the Union of Towns may be seen in Petrograd. The Mayor is President of the Committee, on which there are, beside others, two generals, to advise especially in connection with military details. The Municipality has provided 25,000 beds for the wounded, and 15,000 others have been furnished between the Red Cross and the military, 40,000 in all. Something more distinctive may be seen at the Warsaw station, where most of the wounded were arriving in Petrograd in the summer of 1915.

The hospital train comes in on one side of a long platform whose offices and sheds have been transformed into a series of communicating barrack rooms, with the adjuncts necessary for bathing, feeding, clothing, and attending medically to the men who have just come in. In one of the long halls stand tables on which are black bread and ewers of tea, so that the men can be fed as soon as they come off the trains. Those that can walk about do so, and the more serious cases are taken to beds in another of these waiting-rooms. The whole treatment is most efficient ; for as soon as the men come off the trains, their clothes are taken from them to be cleaned and disinfected, they can wash, and enjoy a spray, and are then given new clothes. After that they are moved out on the other side of the platform with the assistance of "sisters" and university students, where ambulance trolley cars from the city tramways are waiting, in which they are transported to the principal hospitals. Men wounded in their limbs sit in the ordinary cars : other cars are specially fitted out for those who are still lying on stretchers.

Even more successful was a whole new series of two-storeyed wooden buildings which had been erected along the length of the platform immediately across the line from this older one. There provision was being made for 1000 beds, with special quarters for officers, together with magnificent kitchen, large boilers for the treatment of soldiers' linen, rooms for doctors, nurses, servants, and a very complete installation of Russian baths, sprays, bunches of fibre for washing and buckets. At whatever hour of the day or night the soldiers arrive, they can thus be straightway looked after, while any serious case can receive immediate attention.

The same ingenuity is revealed in buildings that have been adapted for the use of the wounded as, e.g. tramway depots. There, in one instance, by covering over the docks between the cleaning platforms with boards, a

great area has been secured in which 800 beds have been placed. They stood two together with a little table between each couple,—six in such a row, with passages up and down between the ranks. Here also every accessory had been installed,—kitchen, operating rooms, and baths, admirably planned. The men lay in different postures differently engaged, one who had been “gassed” absolutely motionless with swollen face and chest, another reading the Evangile, one playing a game against himself at draughts, others reading newspapers, all showing that wonderful patience and cheerfulness that impress everyone who has to do with them. “How lovable they are,—just like great children,” said an English Red Cross nurse to me. It was much the same sort of thing in another adapted institution,—a primary school. Of these five have been taken over in this way, and about twenty gymnasia. Each class-room had sixteen beds ranged round the wall, feet out towards the centre. Of the thirteen doctors attached to it, eleven were women: most of the men are away at the front.

But the Union of the Towns even in the towns themselves does not deal simply with the sick and wounded. It makes considerable provision for the wives and families of soldiers. Thus the Municipality of Petrograd has given  $2\frac{1}{2}$  million rubles to this cause, while the Government allowance for Petrograd alone was about the same figure. Further, the Municipality has organised a number of places where work can be got by those who require it, e.g. making shirts and hospital slippers for the soldiers. The city has been divided into twenty sections, in each of which there is an institution for dealing with the relief of all special cases arising out of the war. “No man or woman need die from starvation in Petrograd,” was the proud statement of those in charge. The Mayor took me to one of the institutions where the Municipality had arranged for such work, primarily for the wives and daughters of soldiers, but also for any women who were

in distress. The building had been a museum, but all the objects had been removed from it. Instead long tables ran down the galleries, covered with light oilcloth. At these women were engaged in work on respirators, making them out of muslin and treating them with chemicals. There are several stages in the preparation of these respirators, and to each stage a separate table is devoted, the simpler stages being entrusted to the younger girls. They had already made more than 600,000 in that building alone. Employment was given in this way to six hundred women, and the Municipality intends to open many more such places. These women work for six hours a day and receive 85 kopeks a day. The periods of working are from 7 to 12, after which there is a break of an hour; then from 1 to 4 and again from 9 to 12. Two different lots of women were at work. A preference is manifested for the afternoon and night shifts, so that the workers have to be changed into the morning groups occasionally. As they pass into the building, they are compelled to put on white cotton overalls, and a white handkerchief, sister-fashion, over their heads, and also to show that their hands are clean. They worked as if they enjoyed it.

The efforts of the Unions of the Towns and Zemstvos did not end, however, even with their care of the sick and wounded, and the organisation of provision for the wives and families of soldiers. Great numbers of refugees at first from hostile territory, but latterly from their own, had to be looked after as they moved away eastwards by slow stages, fleeing from the seat of war. There was no other agency that could face a situation which involved the charge of hundreds of thousands of human beings, and once again the work was delegated to the Unions. The Unions not merely took in hand to tend the local groups of five to ten thousand (including many Jews), abandoning their homes in Poland with their children, their sick ones and their aged during the first

winter of the war. They also looked after some seventy to eighty thousand fugitive Armenians in the Caucasus, giving them food, shelter and medical treatment.

Gradually also there was laid upon the Unions a great share in provisioning and clothing the army itself. Thus a large number of food stations was established in Poland for wounded soldiers and destitute refugees : accordingly if a hospital train did not have its kitchen, the defect could be easily remedied. The Government pays for the assistance given to the wounded soldiers, but the expense of feeding the destitute refugees is met out of the funds of the Unions. The Union of the Zemstvos placed orders abroad for two million pairs of boots, and further occupied itself with procuring warm winter clothing. The Moscow Committee devised a scheme whereby all secondary work on, for example, such boots as were not according to contract or spoiled in any way should be given to these wounded soldiers to work on at home. All such arrangements of distribution of work amongst humbler individuals are made by the Committee, who pays to the workman direct the whole of the sum received from the Government for his labours. The middleman is done away with in these cases, and wherever the city seal is set upon goods by the Committee, they are taken forthwith by the army without further enquiry.

Again, the whole organisation against the outbreak of infectious disease was put in the hands of the Unions, the country being divided up between them for this purpose, with joint commissions where the assistance of both was required. The possibility was recognised of many of the towns being unable with their scant revenues and limited powers to carry out the requisite degree of sanitary reform to meet certain abnormal conditions, and steps were taken to aid them. The main endeavour of the Unions was to secure sound internal organisation in order that the work entrusted to them might be efficiently carried out. The lack of such organisation had

caused a great and quite unnecessary increase in the price of various commodities. Thus in some districts there were shortages of flour and oats which could quite well have been supplied from other districts where there was a surplusage : some cities and districts were on the brink of famine. Accordingly, by summoning conferences for enquiry and in other ways, the Unions set themselves to assist the Government in the rearrangement of transport, and in combating enhanced prices generally. Through all this the relationship between these Unions and the army has come to be one of mutual confidence and understanding, so much so that orders for goods were not infrequently sent direct to them by the "intendants" (commissariat officers) of regiments instead of round by the War Office, and the Government showed its belief in the efficiency of the Unions by overlooking these irregularities and continuing to pay.

One other great task was, however, still to be laid upon the Unions of the Towns and Zemstvos. From the beginning of the war it was realised on every hand that Russia could not herself produce all the munitions and other requirements for a long war. Still it was believed that, unprepared as she was, she was in a position to face a short war if only certain necessary provision were made. As the war proceeded military commissions were appointed in connection with the drawing up and placing of orders abroad. A certain uneasiness in the country on the matter of sufficiency of munitions was lulled for the time being by various statements of the late Minister of War to the Duma in the early months of 1915. The realisation that these statements had been absolutely misleading, and that the army was faced with a serious shortage of munitions, moved the country as no other incident in the war had done, not even excepting the Battle of Tannenberg. The Unions voiced the popular demand for the formation of a committee including members of the Duma to control the orders for muni-

tions. Men coming back from the front plainly said, "If we do not take immediate steps to organise for the production of munitions, we shall be beaten." The Government once again turned to the Unions and asked for their assistance. Out of this arose the Military-Technical Committees of the two Unions, which were at first formed separately, but latterly have united, and become independent of the Unions. To their assistance also came committees of merchants and business men in the big cities who were willing to organise themselves and transform their factories into workshops for the output of munitions. The Unions of the Zemstvos and Towns, whose Military-Technical Committees had a more disinterested relation to the proposals in view than these other committees, worked for a definite scheme, according to which the Ministry of War should form a commission or council on which there should be representatives of the Unions, as also of the committees of the merchants and other responsible bodies willing to act in a co-operative way for the common end. Their suggestion was that this commission should have full control, should find out what was needed and should then distribute the work, seeing to it that the larger factories did what they could do and not simply what was easiest and most profitable to do, difficulties of this nature arising early in connection with the making of the larger shells and guns. Ultimately a Special Munitions Council has been formed with representatives from the Council of Ministers, Council of the Empire, Unions of Towns and Zemstvos and the Duma, to unify and control the munitions work of all the different organisations, Government and other.

The Military-Technical Committee of the All-Russia Zemstvo and Town Unions had then in these earlier days as function to deal with the furnishing of munitions, guns, automobiles, and other war material. On it were three members of each of the Unions and a number of technical experts. Its business was to supply whatever

was needed as quickly, as cheaply, and as well as possible. It had to decide two great questions about each demand for a specific necessity,—Can we make it? and, Can we obtain it by purchase as quickly as we can make it? In each Government there are small local provincial committees working in co-operation with the Central Committee. There are, for example, great numbers of small factories up and down the country employing a small number of hands. The principles and aims of the Central Committee are made clear to them. A small factory finds itself unable to make a complete shrapnel shell. It is then set to work to make a part: another part is made by another small factory in the district, and so on. Then the different parts are assembled together. All this is done by the local Government (Provincial) Committees. In the words of a member of the Committee, “The question might be asked of the little factory, What can you do? They may reply, We do not know. Thereupon the question is, What sort of machines have you? They reply, and then an engineer is sent to inspect them. All the drawings and designs for stock material are public now, and given even to these little factories. The question is again put, Can you do this or not? And the reply comes, Yes, but we must receive an instructor, and we need certain machinery. They are then given advances, and sometimes we buy for them and sometimes they buy.

“We are able to effect a certain economy of machines in this way. Every one of our river steamers has a turning-lathe. They are not all in commission just now, so their engines have been taken out and their machinery employed in the manufacture of munitions. Again, in the city of Moscow we have taken over large establishments that ordinarily make for the tramways and water-works, and we are arranging them not for producing shells, but for producing turning-lathes to supply to the other factories. This kind of thing again is organised by the local committees.

“So far we have had only one difficulty. We can only ask ; we can propose ; we cannot say, You must. We want a right of disposition over every factory. The best workmen are all away at the war. We have just received Government authorisation to prevent any more being drafted off.

“A factory says, We think we can make that and that and that. We cannot say to them, At what price ? The thing must be made by them in the first instance so that we can see its quality. Then we say, The price is so and so. We have our own factories where everything is made first for precise information, and we can therefore calculate what price includes a fair profit for the factory owners and the artel. But the point is that everything is done empirically. In many cases there are no such goods as we require on the market, and we have to organise. The Government supplies us with all the funds that we require. We deal principally with the smaller factories. The larger ones are more commonly associated with the Committee of the Merchants.”

Such then, in brief outline, is the work of these two great Unions,<sup>1</sup> under the symbol of the Red Cross. As yet, however, these Unions have not been judicially organised : they are only co-operations or societies. Indeed, the judicial character of these Unions is not quite clear. It raises many perplexing questions : hence so

<sup>1</sup> Their importance in comparison with other organisations can be judged by the following figures (quoted in “The Times Russian Supplement” for December 17th, 1915), representing the amount of financial assistance given by the Government for the care of the sick and wounded from the beginning of the war to June 30th, 1915 :—

All-Russia Union of Zemstvos . . . . .	71,305,050 rubles.
All-Russia Union of Towns . . . . .	28,158,448 „
Russian Red Cross . . . . .	28,167,736 „
Several Individual Zemstvos . . . . .	7,406,000 „
Petrograd Municipal Administration . . . . .	9,500,000 „
Moscow Municipal Administration . . . . .	13,656,000 „
	<hr/>
	158,193,234 rubles.
	(£16,700,000).

far the rights of the Unions are not very defined. With regard to the rights of property, it is the case that property belongs to the Unions, but they do not have a strong juridical hold over it. The Union of the Zemstvos cannot be said to be more than a particular form of the consolidation of these self-governing County Councils.

Yet it is to these Unions that there has been successively delegated by the Government the greater share in the care of the sick and wounded, the charge of refugees, the provision of supplies for the army, and last of all the production of munitions. It has only been possible on their part because of organisation, yet it was just because of this organisation that the Government has feared to legalise the Unions. On the other hand, the Unions know what they have done. The Union of the Towns practically grew up in a week. It corresponds very closely to that which urban life demands, not merely for the moment, but for the future. The towns thus linked together in territorial sub-centres will not hereafter individually commence any large undertaking without consulting their own central organisation. The whole scheme is absolutely voluntary, yet few of the towns have held aloof from it.

The Unions also know that they have won the complete confidence of the present armies of the reserves, and that by their joint insistence the Duma was summoned in the summer of 1915, when Russia was face to face with the most serious crisis of the war. The Government has seen great organisations working harmoniously with it and giving no occasion for suspicion. All that is necessary for the future political progress of Russia is to recognise that what has been brought about in the direction of trustful co-operation between the people and the Government under the pressure of the war is not something to go back upon: thus from the heart of a great evil a great good may be wrested.

The Zemstvo is the basis of political freedom in Russia,

and appears to be the element with which liberal government can best be associated. In the Zemstvo perhaps the *natura rerum* is stronger, and the practical results are better even, than in the Duma, because the local interests are not so complex and they are more real. Shipoff, who had so much to do with organising the Union of Zemstvos, wanted the Duma to be representative of the Zemstvos—to be, in short, the greatest Zemstvo, that of the third degree. His idea was to make the large towns electoral units in the District and Provincial Zemstvos. It is not at all certain, however, that the local Zemstvos would take altogether kindly to the organisation of the Union as a superior body, for the former represent the idea of decentralisation; they are independent and do not want to be dependent on a higher body. Duma and Zemstvo alike realise that to work at all productively, they must work with the Government: their ideal is to help the Government to do its work. With a certain measure of reform in the basis of election to Duma and Zemstvo alike—at present it is very oligarchical in both, much like our own before the Reform Bill of 1832—the march of Russia towards the most brilliant period in her history is assured.

Already her publicists and statesmen are occupying their minds with some of the problems of the future. The greatest of these will be the provision for her soldiers. It is not difficult to find out by conversation in hospital and otherwise how the wounded soldier himself is planning out that future. He wants a piece of land of his own on which he can settle down. The love of the land has always been a dominant characteristic in the Russian peasant's mind. "The land," he says, "belongs to God, like the water and the air: to possess it is the reward of the man who works it." When Stolypin gave the peasant the right to compel the Mir to surrender to him his share of the commune land so that he could then sell or do with it what he wanted, he introduced a reform

whose implications are only beginning to be realised. The peasant may feel that there are abuses in the care of its land by the commune, and may wish to have his own plot to work it himself. The Government and commissioners decide what is his share, and if he wishes to sell it eventually because he wants to go and work in a city factory, or is driven thereto by some misfortune, he can only dispose of it to a member of his own or some neighbouring Mir. As a matter of fact, the Mir system of land management is really equivalent to eternal poverty, and affords a very striking argument against socialistic views. Between five and six hundred thousand desiatines<sup>1</sup> of land are even now annually bought in this way by the peasants, with the aid of the Government Bank. The soldiers then, wounded and unwounded, will wish to be in the position of peasants under Stolypin's law, but with the land *given* to them. But if you give land to the soldiers you must give it to the other peasants also. The Government will have to divide up its own holdings and also buy land from the landowners and give it to the soldiers.

Another important element in the determination of future conditions in Russia are the prisoners of war. When we consider that there are some 800,000 Germans and Austrians interned in Central Russia from Vologda onwards into Siberia, the fact is astounding in itself without the further statement that "interned" is quite the wrong word to be used in this connection. When the first German prisoners were brought into Petrograd the populace did not turn out to stare or jeer at them. They brought them flowers and food. The captives were no longer enemies because they were prisoners of war, and, as such, deserving of compassion. In fact the attentions of the populace became so embarrassing that the Government had to put a stop to them. Even now in Siberia the prisoners of war can hardly be said to be guarded. In some villages there are actually more

<sup>1</sup> 1 desiatine = 2·7 acres.

prisoners than male settlers, but this has sometimes led to conditions demanding stricter segregation. On the whole, however, they go about, speak, insinuate themselves into the life of the community, and introduce new ideas ; as a result they already exercise a definite amount of influence. Incidentally it may be stated that authoritative neutral inspection has borne witness to the very generous treatment of their prisoners by the Russians. German and Russian have been often in the same ward in a hospital without discrimination. In the concentration camps there has been an abundance of good food and remuneration for work done. Engaged in building boats for river transit, these prisoners of war receive food and 15 kopeks a day, a few very highly trained men receiving as much as 1½ rubles a day. In the Siberian villages they get 50 kopeks a day and food if they are working for the Government : if they do not work they receive 21 kopeks and shelter. But in the villages in the summer of 1915, with 21 kopeks you could buy two eggs, a good slice of brown bread, a piece of sausage and some tea, sugar and butter. Some were busily engaged at work all the time ; others could not find work. The commandants gave neutral visitors the impression of being kindly disposed to their charges. At every point the contrast is most marked when compared with the treatment of the Russian prisoners by the Germans. Finally, it is necessary to recollect that these Russian prisoners in Germany, of whom there are a million, will come back, whatever their treatment, with many western ideas. They will have seen how the German peasant lives in his neat and ordered cottage, cultivating his own land. They will have seen things done with method,—they will have seen them *done*.

At the close of the war, then, Russia will probably move rapidly in the matter of agrarian reform. The old traditions still remain with a great measure of their power, but even now in the Zemstvos they are giving place to a more democratic view-point. The world of

the pomyestchik<sup>1</sup> is slowly passing away ; the great noblemen are selling or disposing of their lands and no longer staying in the villages. In the Governments of Samara and Saratoff there has recently been a fall of 30 per cent in the value of the land, probably in part due to this cause. The price used to be 500 rubles a desiatine : now it is more nearly 350 rubles. Yet whatever the readjustments—and they are bound to be numerous—before the new stage of internal equilibrium is reached, they will surely be of the nature of that increased mutual co-operation between the Government and its people which the war brought about, and which the end of the war cannot finally take away.

<sup>1</sup> Smaller landed proprietor.



# INTERLUDE

BY LITTLE MOTHER VOLGA



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BY LITTLE MOTHER VOLGA

VERY much what "the strength of the hills" is to the Waldensian people, that and something more is the Volga to the peasants who have lived within the manifold influence of its waters. For a river is the most "living" thing in inorganic nature, and the Volga is not merely inspiration and protection, but companionship to these children of nature. To their "little mother" they bring their joys and sorrows, finding in her different moods some faint and subtle reflection of what is in their own minds.

"Far away, far away across the Volga  
Lie the steppes which freely breathe;  
And on the steppes across the Volga  
The free, free spirit lives."<sup>1</sup>

In its power and efficiency, its unceasing determined achieving, lessened perhaps owing to extraneous causes at one season but renewed with increased force at another, the Volga may be held to symbolise the Russian army, which retires only to advance once again. It even seemed probable that in the regions adjacent to it there might well be found examples not merely of efficient Zemstvo administration and so of the best spirit and purpose behind the army, but that also the economic changes in country life due to the war would be clearly noticeable.

This is certainly the case in the Government of Kostroma, where can be studied, perhaps at its highest de-

<sup>1</sup> Translation, Josephine Calina.

velopment, that interested oversight which wraps around the life of its peasants, one might almost say from the cradle to the grave. I wanted to see something of the country under a Zemstvo that e.g. hires out good steel ploughs to its peasants at 15 kopeks a day, harrows and sowers at 50 kopeks, and a reaper at 1 ruble a day ; that sends around its thrashing-machines, charging the peasants half a kopek a pood,<sup>1</sup> and loans them 50 rubles for as many kopeks a month,—half a day's wage—in place of the 12 per cent exacted by the Jews.

I started from the district town of Kinyeshma, which had made a very patriotic response to the summons for aid to the army. The local committee acting with the Union of Towns had agreed to arrange for 570 beds for sick and wounded soldiers on funds provided by the Union. In addition the wealthier merchants and other private individuals got together and added 500 beds at their own expense. Then the District Zemstvo arranged for another 150, and finally a local committee of the Red Cross Society arranged for yet 225 beds more, and actually works in this instance *under* the local committee of the Unions, who have absolute autonomy in connection with the arrangements, whether these are paid for by the Government or not. Fifty thousand rubles were also collected locally for a Red Cross Field Hospital, and the town has likewise supplied its own hospital train. A district committee was also formed to aid the soldiers' families. All this is just the fruitage of its ordinary activities.

In the local Zemsky hospital in Kinyeshma, which might draw on a population of 170,000, there are some 50,000 visits per annum ; the institution is supported at an annual cost of 40,000 rubles. In the whole District, of which there are twelve in the Government or Province of Kostroma, there are fifteen hospitals. With regard to veterinary work, the uyezd or district is subdivided into

<sup>1</sup> =40 lbs. Russ.

six regions. The Zemstvos give all the necessary treatment free. For example, at the moment, a peasant had his horse in the local establishment undergoing treatment for a month. He paid nothing : all he had to do was to supply its feeding. Again, if the Head of the Department has to go for purposes of enquiry to any point on a summons from the villagers, his mission is conducted at the expense of the Zemstvo. He even extends his interests to looking after stray dogs, thus preventing disease, and makes a standing offer of 5 rubles for every wolf's tail brought in by a peasant. The budget of 1,422,000 rubles is in part subsidised by the Government. In the same way the District Zemstvo takes a direct interest in the peasants' horse-breeding in the district, and has established ten centres to aid them. As the result of its representation, the Government commandeered only 600 out of the 22,000 horses in the district for war purposes. Further, the Zemstvo sells 4000 copies daily of a broadsheet with war news at the nominal price of 1 kopek.

This District Zemstvo likewise looks well after education within its boundaries, having 152 primary schools, to which should be added a further twenty-two that are distinctively church schools. In these the course lasts three to four years. There are, besides, twelve schools directly under the Ministry of Education, distributed mainly in the towns—a higher class of primary school, for which the Government pays in part, with a five years' course of training. There is still a higher type of school (secondary) found only in the towns, where the course is from seven to eight years. Throughout the district there is a school on every three-verst circle drawn from the principal towns as centres, and similarly a hospital on every ten-verst circle.

Further, there are within a radius of twelve versts some ten points at which the peasants can obtain agricultural implements on hire. In Kinyeshma itself there is an admirable little department with models and demon-

strations of the main points of practical interest in connection with agriculture and farming generally. Mention should also be made of the twenty-two "Credit Companies," and of the local Zemstvo bank that aids them. Its balance stood at 220,000 rubles in midsummer of 1915,—above the normal.

It was a Committee of the Zemstvo likewise that undertook the organisation of the smaller factories in the district for munitions. At the first meeting the factory owners thought that they could turn out 100 shells a day between them, but after some arrangement and organisation they suggested they might attempt several hundred : after having actually got to work they found that they could do even more. One individual offered to make four shells a day, and found he could do fifty when he undertook nothing else. So gradually, all over, each man, as he tried, found he could do more than he thought at first was possible.

A journey through several villages in the district—those smaller villages without a church that are known as *derevnya*, and the larger type of village with a church that is called *selo*—disclosed many interesting data. In particular the evidence of the growth of the co-operative movement was very striking. In one village a membership of ninety had bought provisions to the value of 5000 rubles in a year : in another, 124 members had bought to the value of 15,000 rubles. The membership fee is 5 rubles. From the Zemstvo the store may receive credit for 1000 rubles, but the credit may not be greater than the amount of the foundation capital. There are forty such stores in two districts in the Kostroma Government, turning over 380,000 rubles worth of business in the year. Although the Government had much to do with the starting of the co-operative movement, yet it is somewhat afraid of its powers of organisation, while the Jews likewise oppose it as tending to take business out of their hands. The co-operative movement may, however,

become an important factor in the solution of the Jewish problem. Through its rapid growth, as well as through the spread of education, and the additional impulse to life in all its forms that has resulted from the prohibition of vodka, the Russian will be better able to hold his own against the often unscrupulous Jew, and be relieved from the necessity of employing adventitious means to assist him in the struggle with his more enterprising neighbour.

In one village, even in these days of war, a fine new school was being put up with equipment for scholars of two grades, and with quarters for the teachers in the same building. More symptomatic of the times was a single old man sitting outside the Volostnoye Pravlenie ;<sup>1</sup> ordinarily many young men would have been seen strolling about in the quiet of a Sunday afternoon. In the remainder of the long village street women only were in evidence, except when a wounded man with a little boy to assist him limped across the road. Many of the houses were ornamented with carving and lattice-work of a rather high order. Outside another village in a pine wood a sanatorium for the consumptives in the district was in process of construction. Three wooden houses, each capable of accommodating ten patients, had been already built, while other three were in process of construction, as also separate quarters for physicians, kitchen and dining-room, etc. At another point we turned aside from the main road to visit one of the new district hospitals. It was a small up-to-date building, fitted throughout with its own telephone and electric light installations. It comprised four "wards" and a perfectly lighted operating-room with blue tiled floor, and white tiles of English make all round the walls to a distance of 5 feet from the floor. Such a hospital to accommodate fifteen patients is erected within a radius of ten versts from each of certain central points. Then once again we crossed the Volga and

<sup>1</sup> Government Administration Bureau for a volost (sub-division of a uyezd or district).

regained Kinyeshma by a first-class chaussée made at a cost of 700,000 rubles to 100 versts. Twenty-eight versts of this road were under actual construction at the moment, and it traversed a tributary of the Volga by a bridge 14 sajens<sup>1</sup> in length, which cost 40,000 rubles. All these activities are Zemstvo work.

The journey ends in a summer home, on a day that happened to be the golden wedding of the owner, Secretary of State, and landowner. There is a wealth of evidence of affectionate remembrance on the part of those who share his friendship and his interest. Moving about on the lawn are all those different elements that go to compose the varied aspects of country official life, together with some life-long friends who have made a tedious journey from different centres to celebrate the day. Towards evening a repast is spread under the trees, at which with exquisite graciousness the first public tribute from the host is to his country's British ally. Later, his words returning thanks for the toast of the evening are interrupted by loud cries of "Gorko, Gorko,"—"The wine is *bitter*, you must sweeten it"—which he does in the recognised fashion by embracing his partner of so many lustrums. The artificial lighting on and around the long table seems to gain in strength as the light of day vanishes, and the stars work their way through the branches of the overhanging trees. Talk continues brightly, engaging your interest in the immediate surroundings, until in some pause you look up and see not ten yards off, standing in rows beside the trees along the whole length of the table, white-kerchiefed heads, some of them bent, regarding the feast in ghostlike quiet,—peasant women and a few men who have crept up unnoticed like the spirits in Dante's word-pictures,—that patient, silent and enduring throng that will one day become vocal in the development of Russia. The supper is over, and they

<sup>1</sup> 1 sajen = 7 feet.



"A SINGLE OLD MAN SITTING OUTSIDE THE VOLOSTNOYE PRAVLENIE."



"ORNAMENTED WITH CARVING AND LATTICE WORK."



move on to the lawn,—young girls made to look older than they are by reason of their dress, men always with their leather-peaked blue or black cloth cap, red or blue rubashka hanging free and sometimes covered by a coat, and dark blue trousers tucked into their long black boots. Under the solvent influence of the balalaika<sup>1</sup> and their master's invitation, their serious demeanour begins to vanish, the brighter side of their natures with its engaging mischievousness appears, and finally they have to be reminded that it is the small hours of the morning ere they can be prevailed upon to cease their singing and their dancing.

<sup>1</sup> Characteristic three-stringed lute.



## **THEME II**

### **SOME ECONOMIC PROBLEMS**



## THEME II

### SOME ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

ACCORDING to the Ministerial Report on the Financial and Economic Position of the Russian Empire,<sup>1</sup> the State Revenue for the seven first months of 1915 showed a deficit of some 482 million rubles compared with the revenue for the corresponding months of the previous year. Of this deficit 460 millions are due to the suppression of the liquor monopoly. Figures such as these, together with the question of our whole economic and financial relationship to our ally, not merely at present but also as regards the future, demand earnest and sympathetic consideration.

The situation can be most helpfully understood if we attempt, in the first instance, to approach it from the Russian point of view. With that object, it may be useful to attempt to reproduce the tenor of a conversation with a leading Russian university professor of Economics. He started from the position that Russia could not win this war without the help of France and Britain, any more than Britain could win it without the assistance of France and Russia. Having been detained as a prisoner in Germany during the first six months of the war, although with a degree of freedom that was not accorded to British subjects similarly circumstanced, he was able to speak with a measure of knowledge and experience possessed by few. The significance of his statements is deepened when we recollect the serious efforts that

<sup>1</sup> See "The Times Russian Supplement," January 15th, 1916.

Germany has made more than once during the past few months to detach our Russian allies. Germany would make peace at once with Russia if the latter country gave the slightest hint of wishing to retire from the contest : she has counted on this from the beginning. Germany would ask no indemnity of Russia ; she would even be prepared to retire from all the Russian territory already occupied, and make a new trade treaty with that country that would be fair to both sides. The last trade treaty, made under the pressure of Russia's situation during the Japanese War, was notoriously one-sided and unfair. It is difficult to imagine the manifold nature of the attempts that have been made upon the loyalty of our Russian allies—attempts not merely due to the obvious fact that, should they succeed, Germany would be in a position to devote all her energy to the struggle with France and Britain, but to the more important, because more fundamental, fact of a well-developed German consciousness that Russia is the one nation amongst her adversaries with whom she could whole-heartedly co-operate in economic and political endeavour.

But to return. "Starting from these premises," continued my friend, "what should we aim at, as a community of allies, in order to win the war ?" He assured me that determination to carry the war to a victorious conclusion was the leading characteristic of the Russian body, commercial and political, to-day. Referring to the unfairness of the past conditions of trade between Germany and Russia, he said that his fellow-countrymen looked upon the war as a struggle with a nation ungrateful to the people that had practically fed them during the last thirty years. "Not only did we export grain to them without their having to pay duty on it, but also food for cattle, so that their cattle industry flourished, while on all chemical products and on all machinery taken by us a special tariff was fixed favourable to the Germans. More than half of our imports came from Germany, and

under tariff conditions that were solely in her favour. America, of course, sends us machinery, but then she does not want our grain.

“To-day the situation is like this. There is much hatred of the Germans, not only of those belonging to that nation, but also of their descendants in our country, because in their hands is a great part of the German trade. Germans, when they came to Russia, became naturalised here, or married Russians, and so formed a special class amongst the Russian people. That is to say, they are not Germans from the standpoint of the State, but they are Germans by creed and origin. Such conditions as you find here would be practically impossible in any other country in the world—e.g. the existence of a great colony of Russian subjects who are Germans by creed and language and birth. There are hundreds of families in Moscow who cannot speak Russian at all. The Russians call the Germans ‘nyemtsi,’ i.e. ‘the dumb,’—those who cannot speak Russian. Indeed there is a special society in Moscow to propagate the German language, manners and ideas, and to it belong many Russian subjects of German origin. The present hatred of Germany is directed not only against true Germans, but also against those Russians of German descent. Can it be, then, that in place of this German influence in our industry we may feel the influence of Britain and of France, of America and of Sweden? What are the special possibilities of this being achieved in one case more than in the other?

“Consider the conditions of the economic development of any country in the world to-day. Without the aid of foreign capital such development is absolutely impossible; especially is this so in the case of a country financially ruined by war. Everybody knows that the first great capitalists in England were Italians, until Whittington and others financially expelled them and they were replaced by English merchants. The same thing occurred

in France, whose industry had its origin in German capital. Likewise Italian and Dutch capital was originally of foreign origin, and the same is true of America. The present development of German industry could never have been accomplished without those five milliard marks of (1870) French origin. And the same is true of Russia. She stands under the same necessity for foreign capital, particularly seeing that German capital here will go back to Germany, or rather that no fresh German capital can come in. German capital was exceedingly well placed in Russia—in the banks, so that it could be taken away at once. We spoke of it as ‘boarding-house capital’ (*kapital penzionat*). Now all this and other forms of German capital we have to replace, and we shall not be in the same financial situation, of course, for years to come, wherever the capital comes from. The feeling against Germany is, however, so widespread and profound that there is no great probability of German capital being welcomed for a long period after the war. Our great pressing necessity, however, is that of having better conditions for purchasing the foreign articles necessary for our army. Now there are only two conditions of obtaining rates for foreign bills, either by buying with gold or by exporting. There is, indeed, a third possibility—that of paying by sending back funds, e.g. in the case of Britain, in the shape of consols and other securities. But in Russia there is no considerable quantity of British securities, as she had not enough capital to purchase foreign investments. Accordingly, only the first two methods are really open to Russia.

“Now with regard to the first possibility, Russia has at present 150 million sterling in gold in the State Banks, but this she cannot send away because she requires it in order to be able to re-establish her currency after the war. In Russia itself the currency has not depreciated at all. The depreciation of the Russian currency on the world’s markets must not be confounded with the real

value of the Russian currency in the country itself. So that when you consider that Russia has about £5 to £7 sterling in gold for every Russian family, it really means that she has so much gold that at any time the Russian gold circulation can be re-established. But this can be only under one condition, viz. that the foreign rates of the pound sterling, as of American, Swedish, or French money, are at such a standard height that they are not dangerous to the Russian gold accumulations. Sufficient credit must be opened abroad for the payments that have to be made in Britain, France, Italy, etc. We have to pay 40 million sterling abroad annually without being in a position at present to export anything, and we have to keep on doing this till we have the possibility again of exporting. What is the prospect that we can continue to do this ? ”

In answering his self-imposed question, my friend never let the other question of the relation of British to Russian trade remain very long in the background. For to his mind the two ought to be, in great measure, one. He seemed to think that the British business world was in some danger of too often opening credit with private Russian enterprise of a somewhat speculative character, instead of opening a credit under the direction of the Russian Government, where they could ensure conditions—demand and get them—such as could not be given in private undertakings. The present high rate of exchange was an abnormal condition, and the English business world should be willing to try and reasonably come to some understanding with the Russian business world with regard to this, as also when the latter gave orders for goods in a form that did not exactly suit the British firms.

“ It is well known,” he said, “ that Russian merchants have endeavoured to secure from Britain the importation of raw (Australian) wool. The answer that our people received was that the British trading world preferred to

send us cloth. That type of answer is sometimes difficult for us to understand. Our merchants tend to think, 'Britain evidently does not want us to develop that kind of industry over here : indeed she wishes to do everything for us ; all that she wants us to do is to pay.' Personally I would prefer that some of the Russian factories should be closed down : their standard of production is so poor that they would be better closed. And we have such a high protective tariff that, as a matter of fact, I am not wearing at this moment a single Russian article of clothing. I can buy underwear in London for 7s. 6d. that will cost me ten rubles here."

"Are we then to do away with our protective tariff ? I do not know. There are hundreds of factories in Russia to-day which were established to work under the protection of our tariff. Machinery has been bought at twice its real cost under this tariff. And if you pay more for all your raw materials (e.g. coal) than in other countries, you cannot expect to produce cheaply. I think on general principles that it would be good for Russia to do away with protection : practically, at present, she is not in a position to do so."

"The essential point is, however, our need of foreign capital in the immediate future : without it Russia cannot develop. Therefore it is necessary that capital loaned to us during the war by you should be allowed to remain with us, and not be repaid immediately after the war, otherwise you simply leave us alone again to engage in an economic warfare with Germany. If there is credit, not merely individual and private but also national and international, then economy would be better understood and practised : in fact, it must be guided by the State.

"There is little that Russia can do for Britain at present : there is much that Britain can do for Russia both financially and politically. Amongst our labouring classes it is sometimes said, 'This war was necessary for

the ideas and schemes of Britain,' but that, of course, is the mere suggestion of pro-German influences at work amongst them which will prove futile. Is not the line of sound and large-hearted action to realise that we are linked together in a great struggle for noble ends, and let the realisation of that fact determine our relationships with one another, not merely in the present but for the future? Are we not fighting together simply to ensure that Europe does not lose her real culture, otherwise she will be lost indeed? Our country has not always been wisely guided, and it may be badly guided in the future. There is a certain insecurity of life and property in Russia, which all intelligent Russians are striving to have removed: you can aid us in that. I think I can see much that requires reform even in Britain, much that could be changed in the common interests of Britain, France, and Russia, points where in some cases we could help you with our experience. Are not these the general lines along which we should strive to move together, and carry the spirit of them into the details?"

As the situation began to shape itself in my mind under the informing tuition of my friend, it seemed to become increasingly clear that the best way to help ourselves was really to help Russia. "Give us your munitions, we have the men," said a Duma party leader. "Give us your capital; we need it, and have the best field for its employment," my Economics friend seemed to be saying, thinking both of the present and of the future. It is interesting to note that Mr. Shingarev, Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Duma, in a recent speech bore out indirectly many of the above contentions. "The situation of Russia," so he said, "is not exceptional, compared with that of France and Germany, since at this moment Russia holds the greatest cover in gold for her paper money, with the exception perhaps of Great Britain, where free exchange has never ceased. . . . We are proud to proclaim aloud that in

the whole financial history of Russia there has not been a moment when she has delayed in paying her creditors.”<sup>1</sup>

One factor that lends itself very easily to misunderstanding is the conditions produced by an abnormal rate of exchange. When the Russian has to put down 170 rubles to meet a payment of £10 sterling, as was done in Moscow in the month of July, 1915, it is not to be wondered at if he tends to think that some advantage is being taken of him by his ally. The whole situation is probably clear to the economist, but the average man is not a trained economist. It is, probably, too late to meet it by fixing a general rate of exchange, say  $12\frac{1}{2}$  rubles to the £1, with an agreement to settle up differences, whichever way they may be, three months after the war, or by the more heroic suggestion of a Moscow banker that we should continue to buy and pay for such a material as wool, and leave it in Russia till it can be exported. Something has been done in the former direction, but there is scope for more detailed and thoroughgoing team work amongst the Allies here as in other directions. And in any case there is an attitude that we can adopt which will go far towards alleviating the situation, and be helpful in regard to the future business relations between Great Britain and Russia.

In the first place, we should remember the peculiar situation of Russia. In blockading Germany we can yet make profits, because we trade with the whole world. To France and Italy likewise the seas are open, with their possibilities of gain. But Russia, with one insignificant exception, has no sea free and so cannot export. In so far as Russia blockades Germany, she blockades herself.

In the second place, as a trading community, we must realise that while there will be very much business to transact in our own country and in the Empire after the war, yet we are not merely citizens of the British Empire, but members of another community that embraces

<sup>1</sup> Reuter's Telegram of September 1st, 1915.

Russia, France, and Italy, and that we have to settle together questions of the greatest importance. We must have a clear idea of a common policy, an idea that shall be above the unworthy outlook that would simply regard Russia as a sort of trading colony. There must be a genuine co-ordination of interests and of foreign capital.

This means that it is essential that all British capital lent to Russia during the war should be allowed to remain there after the war, otherwise she will be in grave danger of becoming economically involved again to her detriment with Germany, in spite of the present tremendous determination to put the Teutonic influence out of her national life.

Finally, we must bear in mind, before all thoughts of material gain, that we are fighting together with this particular country amongst others in the interests of true culture. If some of the material fruits of our ultimate victory are garnered by other nations without their having, so to speak, paid for them, it is an enormous pity—for these nations. We, of the Entente, are a community fighting for culture in its truest and highest sense, as Europe has often done before, and other countries will gain by it. But consider what this means. Germany is losing every day great numbers of her really cultured people. Out of 2000 students in Karlsruhe Polytechnicum only 128 were left by the end of July, 1915, including women and foreigners. What will remain to Germany of any kind of culture if figures such as these are at all general? From the standpoint of the highest culture we have to fight together to ensure its persistence, otherwise Europe is lost. Surely the nations that have been linked together to secure so high and noble an aim should be prepared to carry its spirit into the adjustment of secondary and more mundane matters.

If now this general point of view commends itself to the British trading public, it would seem imperative to begin to act upon it at once. Some of the specific Russian

suggestions made to one could not very easily be accepted. Thus it was said : " Our export trade has been mainly to Germany, and we have now to find new outlets for the 500 million rubles that we used to place with her. In particular we desire Britain and France as new outlets. Could Britain during the war period, after the opening of the Dardanelles, not prefer Russian to American grain ? " <sup>1</sup> Nevertheless the spirit of that point of view can always be maintained. The need for prompt action lies in the circumstance that thousands of Germans who are now interned in Russia will attempt to return to their businesses there as soon as peace is declared, just as if nothing had ever happened.

There is one feature, however, in which those who are willing to pursue this line of action feel themselves to be heavily handicapped by their own Government. Their subject of complaint is an Act of Parliament <sup>2</sup> for the existence of which there may be sound reasons, but whose specifications contrast very sharply with the facility given from Berlin for German residents abroad to retain or resume their German nationality and thus assist in Germanising the world. In order to give some idea of the degree of feeling caused by this legislation amongst sections of British communities in Russia, I quote from a document issued to business firms at home under date May, 1915, by two British residents in Russia of long standing, who have interested themselves particularly in the extension of British trade there. " There are at least," they say, " three million British subjects in foreign countries, most of them as loyal and patriotic as anybody in the British Isles, and amongst these voluntary exiles, whose sons are joining Kitchener's army and fighting the nation's battles, our authorities are carrying on a veritable persecution. On January 1st of this year a most incomprehensible Act of Parliament came into force, whereby the second generation of foreign-born Britishers

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, Note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix, Note 2.

are indiscriminately deprived of their natural birthright. Such an extraordinary measure must have been completely overlooked by the British public, who could certainly have no conception of the havoc which it was destined to produce. The wording of the Act is most obscure, we trust inadvertently so, but the above-mentioned interpretation is the one adopted by the British authorities. It was bad enough before, when children of the third generation born abroad of British parents were made outcasts by the action of the British Government. This further curtailment of British nationality is an intolerable outrage on British patriotism and common sense. It counteracts and defeats the very purpose for which the Board of Trade is appealing to the British Trading Community, for who are amongst the chief supporters of England's trade and prestige if not loyal Britons residing abroad? It divides the allegiance of British families, it turns the children of faithful British subjects into aliens before they are old enough to choose for themselves, and as regards Russia in particular, it makes outlaws of infant Britons, whom the Russian Government very properly refuses to accept as Russian subjects. In very many cases in which the parents can afford it, their outcast children are sent to be educated on British soil, nevertheless they can apparently only regain their lost British citizenship by becoming naturalised like real aliens at the discretion of a Secretary of State. This is simply adding insult to injury. All Englishmen who suffer, or see others suffer from this objectionable and iniquitous piece of legislation, are very justly indignant and demand its early repeal. Only Germany can profit by this restriction of British allegiance, which will clear the way more than ever for the advance of German nationality when the war is over." If indeed all the facts are so, there would seem to be a call for discrimination in legislation which while possibly of sound application to certain conditions and in certain districts

of the Empire, produces such apparent hardship under other circumstances.

One final remark may be added, suggested by what might have been seen at Torneo on the Finnish frontier in June, 1915, while yet the Russo-Finnish railway staff was struggling with the masses of material passing by that route into Russia. Everything had to be improvised at the beginning. And now to-day the conditions are very different, and large wooden sheds have been built to house the goods as they rest there. But at the time in question there were acres in the vicinity of the railway station covered at one point with bales of cotton from Memphis, U.S.A., at another with boxes full of typewriters ; here sacks of sulphur, there cases of electric lamps, and close by stacks of boxes of manganese or shellac. Yet even more impressive was the lack of vision that stencilled in English the phrase "Return when empty to—" all over cases about which the one thing certain was that they would never reach their primary destination full, because not clearly addressed or insecurely put together. Imagine the heavy-featured Finn as he gazes wonderingly at the enormous cards tacked on to boxes with the strange signs "Glass," "This side up," "Fragile," "With great care," and his efforts to find anything suggestive of an address in a language familiar to him. Is it worth while stencilling all over a wooden case the intimation that it is "fastened with so-and-so's patent clasps," if it adds to the difficulty of the stevedore in trying to find why the case is there at all ? I do not know. But it is possible to imagine that if these 12 by 6 inch cards, inscribed with these English legends in large lettering, had the size of the type reduced by a half, and the free space utilised for the Russian equivalent of these directions, the cases would probably be handled with greater understanding, and therefore with greater care and consequent satisfaction to the sender.

## **THEME III**

### **THE PROHIBITION OF VODKA**



## I

### RUSSIA'S INITIAL VICTORY

ANYONE visiting Russia after a year of the war, and able to compare the conditions as he sees them there to-day with those that obtained during previous decades, must quickly have become aware of three very striking changes. In the first place, he would notice that an intensely passionate love of country—a deep and tender feeling for *Russia*—has developed, which tends to take precedence of all other loyalties, and become the ultimate test of all activities. In the second place, he would realise how the will of the people was rapidly becoming a determining factor in Russian politics, and how the Duma, as expressing this, had secured for itself a growing and lasting place in their affections. And finally, he could not fail to observe the remarkable results following the prohibition of vodka. Of the latter, some were easily calculable in advance; others were unexpected; yet others have not had time to develop, although there are hints of them. The views, moreover, of those who are opposed to the measure are very instructive, while even the untoward results to date are interesting when subjected to examination.

Although only one full year has passed since the introduction of prohibition in Russia, enough has been achieved to show that the place of Nicholas II is secure in history. They speak of Alexander II as the Liberator Tsar because he brought about the emancipation of the serfs. But in a far deeper and larger sense should the title belong to Nicholas II, for while the former liberated

a class, the latter has freed a nation. Or as a village correspondent puts the matter in reply to an official enquiry : " Judging by the results of four months, it may be said with confidence that if temperance becomes inseparable from our Russian life, this prohibition manifesto will in its issue prove to be a very great reform, which can be compared only with those of Peter the Great."

At the same time it should not be forgotten that there had been a movement in this direction throughout various districts in Russia previous to the order of July 18th, 1914 (O.S.). Before the Government once again took over the spirit trade in 1894, all the village communes had the right to interdict the existence of the public-house. After the monopoly was re-established, this privilege was contested by the Government. " Nobody has the right," said the Minister of Finance (Kokovtzeff) in effect in the second Duma, " to oppose this." Many peasant communities protested. The Government gave way, and in the end recognised the right of the village communities to shut up a public-house or refuse to have one set down amongst them.<sup>1</sup> These things are cited to show that the movement had commenced amongst the people themselves. The Emperor, however, had the vision that saw his kingdom without vodka, and the sympathetic confidence in his people that trusted them to support him.

" There has indeed been a revolution in Russia, you can see it in the people's faces." The verdict was that of the man whom the Russian nation wished to have as its Minister of Munitions. Nor is it an isolated judgment. " Every aspect of our village life has been changed," said the leader of one of the parties in the Duma to me. " Latterly the old men did not come to the village as-

<sup>1</sup> The exact facts show that the existing law only allowed the Mirs to present a petition for the closing of the vodka shops. The petition was granted or not, just as the authorities preferred. On March 11th, 1914, that is five months before the war, by the ministerial circular No. 2293, the order was issued to give effect always and at once to all petitions of this character.

semblies because they were continually submitted to insult by the half-drunken younger men. Now these listen to the older men, so that the latter say, 'We have again become fathers, for the young men respect us.' The women are enthusiastic ; no longer are they insulted or beaten. They receive their husbands' wages now. In the villages close to the towns the women used to meet their husbands at the entrance to the village on Saturday in order to get the remainder of their wages before they had spent them all in drink. Now they remain quietly at home. It is the children who go to meet their fathers, sure that they have brought some little gift for them. The whole life of the village communities has been transformed. The chief of police in a district in the Government of Moscow said to a friend of mine the other day, 'The conditions of my service will have to be altered ; I have had nothing to do for two months.' The people are gladly co-operating with their Emperor, for the movement had already in a measure begun amongst them. But human nature is feeble, and there were many who regretted the restored powers of local option. The employés of the monopoly, who received an increase in wage in proportion to the increase in their sales, were very interested to influence members of the village commune to carry on propaganda against prohibition. Tchelyshev<sup>1</sup> asked the Government to forbid its employés to conduct this kind of agitation. Accordingly, while everybody thought that we were in for a long preparatory campaign, perhaps of a century, there was fortunately accomplished a miracle. Like all miracles, it had in a measure to be prepared for ; but Russia drinks no more." I have discussed the question with very many open-minded men whose positions entitled them to speak with authority. I did not meet one who spoke disapprovingly of vodka prohibition, and most of them had reached

<sup>1</sup> Member of the third Duma and extreme temperance advocate : died 1915.

their conclusions simply on empirical grounds—because of the results.

What is the nature of these results? Briefly, they affect every aspect of human life, so that before it is possible to appreciate the far-reaching character of these changes, it is necessary to listen to the insurance agent as well as to the physician, to the trader at the same time as to the chief of police. In some cases it may be that a knowledge of Russian conditions is required to trace the direct line of cause and effect between the vodka prohibition and the result, but they are all clear to the Russian mind.

“In consequence of this prohibition,” said the mayor of one of the capital cities, “we have quite a different sort of people.” And it was not difficult for him to substantiate the statement. On the day on which he made it (July 7th, 1915), his principal prison with 500 cells, “always filled to overflowing,” had 37 occupants. His regular city hospitals have 14,000 beds. Not only were these always all occupied before prohibition, but they had to put in extra beds often to the number of 2000. Since prohibition they have usually had on an average 1000 beds free. With the banishment of drink there had also been an improvement in the moral tone of the community. The suicide rate had dropped; ordinarily it averaged two or three cases a day in summer, and in winter a little less. For some weeks past there had not been a case. Hooliganism had practically disappeared. The price of labour had gone up in a very remarkable manner. This was one of the more unexpected results—which, however, are not claimed as always wholly due to prohibition. Before the war the pay of an unskilled labourer in Petrograd was 80 kopeks a day, now it is 1 ruble 65 kopeks. The skilled artisan got  $8\frac{1}{2}$  rubles as against about 3 formerly. The mayor of a Government (Provincial) capital stated that before the war they could get mujiks to do all sorts of jobs for 30 kopeks a day,

now they had to pay them a ruble and a half. Several causes have, of course, combined to produce this result, but the principal cause is the simple fact that the labouring classes are all richer as the result of the vodka prohibition. The peasants do not require to work so hard as usual, because they have saved money, and since their constitutional laziness tends to assert itself, greater inducements are required to make them work. The Russian peasant is not like the French peasant in his love of work : the Russian does not like to work long, as a rule. Previously, what little they got was spent at once on vodka, and they had to work on any terms for more.

The evidence of large employers of labour is uniformly favourable to the good results of prohibition. One Petrograd factory owner employing 4000 hands said that the efficiency of his men had noticeably increased from 10 to 15 per cent. In his mills they were not working longer hours, as in some cases they are empowered to do, but they did better work in the same time. He also observed an improvement in their dress, and a marked increase in self-respect. Another large employer also testified to the great improvement in the character of his men's work. They now came regularly every day, and did steady work. Formerly it might happen that a design in connection with some new machinery was shown to a man by the foreman late in the afternoon. The man went off and got drunk on the way home : perhaps he stayed away for two days. When he returned he had forgotten part of the explanation about the machinery and was afraid to ask. Consequently his work was imperfectly done. All that sort of thing had come to an end. He had not noticed any marked difference in the number of accidents and disablements but for this reason. Ordinarily his was a ten-hours' day. In the production of munitions, however, his men were allowed to work as much longer as they liked, and acci-

dents tended to occur which were due to fatigue. He also stated that the relations between master and men had visibly improved since prohibition had been introduced.

If now we pass to the country, we find the same general results. "In a little town that I know, one hundred versts from Moscow," said a member of the Duma, "you cannot now find a man who does not work. The people used to close their outside shutters at night for fear they would be robbed: they do not do so any more. It is also very noticeable how they take an active intelligent interest in questions relating to the war, domestic politics, and ideals for the future." Look into the life of the people from any angle you please, and some expression of enhanced well-being meets you. The changes may not all be directly and solely due to prohibition, but in the new atmosphere life has taken on a new form. As the published statement of an official correspondent puts it: "I simply cannot describe the good results, because with the shutting of the Government shops the people are as if they were born anew, or as if they were freed from servitude, as it was in 1861."

Take a district town like Kinyeshma, to which reference has already been made. They show you that the average monthly deposits in the twenty-three district Zemsky banks were 170,000 rubles previous to the war: in July of 1915 they were 300,000 rubles. In the Imperial Savings Bank in the same district there were, on August 1st, 1914, 7,165,000 rubles: on July 1st of 1915, 7,941,000 rubles. You enter the large store for the sale of agricultural and other implements, and find that while in 1913 they did 230,000 rubles' worth of business, in 1914 the figure was 390,000 rubles. The remarkable contrast is increasingly apparent of villages never so rich, and a Government, in recent times at any rate, never so poor. In the towns the economic advantages from prohibition are largely nullified by the increased prices, due in part

to lack of transport. Finally, you turn down another street into one of the police detention houses. It has but a single occupant. The records for 1914 show that 220 men and 35 women had been under detention there. For seven months of the following year the figures were 63 men and 5 women, and five months of 1914 were temperance months.

If now we widen the area of observation and push our investigations in different directions, we are confronted with the same kind of result. For forty-three Governmental districts the Zemstvo insurance statistics show that while there were 7436 outbreaks of fire with damage estimated at 1,708,158 rubles during the first three months of the war, the figures for the corresponding period of 1913 gave 13,216 outbreaks with damage computed at 3,850,906 rubles. In the Yekaterinoslav Government in 1913 there were 310 fires with damage estimated at 28,893 rubles, while for 1914 the figures were 147 fires with 13,287 rubles' worth of damage. In the Government of Tamboff the diminution in fires is even more striking. The average number of cases in September for ten years previous to 1914 was 148 : in September, 1914, it was 65. For the month of August, the average for five years previous to 1914 was 960 : in August, 1914, the actual number was 630. Statistics for all the Governments of Russia show that there was during the first three months of the war a diminution of 47 per cent in the number of fires, and of 56 per cent in the amount of damage done. So also was it found with regard to railway accidents. In connection with the railways in the district of Moscow, statistics showed 805 accidents for a year, in which the percentage due to alcohol was 4·34 : after prohibition, the proportion due to drunkenness had fallen to 0·95.

With regard to crime, the Reunion (Industrial Assurance Company) makes the general statement that it has diminished 62 per cent. Certainly in all Russia crime had diminished during the first three months of the war

by 25 per cent. In some areas the percentage was much higher. Thus, during the first four months of the war in certain districts of the Moscow Government, "correction" cases showed a diminution of 29 per cent, and in "disorders" or more serious crimes, the reduction varied from 51 to 76 per cent. In the Government of Tamboff during the first nine months of the war the number of cases had declined from 4000 to 2400, i.e. 36 per cent. Within a sub-district near Moscow, the cases for discipline in the factories had diminished between 60 per cent and 80 per cent: absenteeism had diminished by 60 per cent. In a printed document by a member of the Extreme Right Party in the Duma, summarising results in his district, he notes amongst other points: "Great diminution of fires and of criminal cases, peace and harmony in families, no more insults from drunken people, public assemblies calm and reasonable, hardly any bribery registered now, labour more productive, the great sums which were spent before on vodka—from ten to fifteen thousand rubles in each large village—now go to increase the well-being of the population, pauperism and vagabondage have absolutely disappeared." As a result throughout the different Governments, the peasant banks are full of money, loans have been paid off, and agricultural implements formerly purchased on the instalment plan have been bought outright, and arrears paid off. Having supplied themselves with gramophones and watches and new clothes, the peasants now employ their money more productively, in buying land and even securities, or starting little businesses. One hundred million rubles per month used to be spent on vodka; to-day it remains in the economy of peasant life. On all hands the people demand that it shall be banished for ever. The last speech I heard in the Duma was that of a peasant delegate insisting that the permanent prohibition of vodka be embodied in legal enactment now.

This well-being of the peasants has in turn affected the food supply. Articles like cultivated berries and eggs and even meat, which he did not eat formerly except on holidays, have become dearer because he and his children either feed on them themselves, or because he can now afford to wait and watch the ever-rising prices. Finally, the death rate from drunkenness has risen since prohibition was introduced. This paradox finds its solution in the fact that dipsomaniacs have turned to methylated spirits and other fatal substitutes.<sup>1</sup>

It is not pretended that every Russian is pleased with prohibition, but it can be said, so far as the evidence goes, that the great majority of the people are alive to the results, and that a majority, at any rate, consider that permanent prohibition of vodka is not merely possible but desirable. The complicated agony of the past months in Russia has called for powers of endurance whose moral source has been in large measure the consciousness, admittedly present in varying degrees in different individuals, that a serious issue was faced and met in the only possible manner. "If it had not been for this decisive measure, my firm conviction is that our war would already have turned into a revolution, without speaking of our armies, that would never have been able to carry out their gigantic retreat, keeping up through it all their wonderful spirit of reasoned self-sacrifice that has now become historical."

Many Russians will agree with these words of one of their distinguished diplomatists. In Russia the army and the nation are one, in a degree with which there is no comparison in Britain, fused together in the fire of a common sacrifice. One of our many national self-deceptions of the day is that we have a choice of action in the matter ; in reality we have none. For the history of life throughout the ages of its slow ascent clearly shows that there have been recurrent periods of environmental

<sup>1</sup> See succeeding Sections II and IV.

stress during which the forms that survived were those which proved to have the requisite alert awareness and plasticity, enabling them to adapt themselves to the changing environment. To-day we find ourselves in such a time of stress, and it is only as we have the understanding and the courage to effect the changes which will produce more efficient adaptation that we can hope to maintain our position in the forefront of the nations. Russia has had the vision, has acted and confidently endures. And we ?

## II

### IN THE COUNTRY

TO the general impressions of the previous section it is now possible to add opinion based upon a more uniform and ordered method of investigation. Competent Russian authorities, both individuals and societies, have recently begun to make serious studies of the great experiment. It was not possible to undertake this earlier, since in the first instance it was necessary that sufficient time should elapse in order to allow definite results to develop, and in the second place responsible bodies had to be found which were free to undertake such an investigation in a judicial way, and on a fairly broad scale.

Reference has already been made to the activities of the Zemstvo in the Government (Province) of Kostroma as exemplifying the kind of work that is done by the wealthier and better organised of these institutions in its home territory.<sup>1</sup> Amidst a multitude of other duties, the Statistical Bureau of this particular body issued a questionnaire to 600 correspondents in different districts of the Government dealing with various aspects of the effect of the war upon country life. A portion of this questionnaire dealt with the results of prohibition. The answers have been studied and summarised with extracts in a booklet entitled "War and Country Life in the Government of Kostroma," and the net effect is a very interesting human document.

The part devoted to the effects of vodka prohibition opens with the statement that this measure was really the last link in a chain of measures, Government and

<sup>1</sup> See p. 33 ff.

other, that had been instituted in connection with the struggle against drink. The results of drinking were so bad that it had come to be generally realised that sooner or later the whole question must be faced. The war simply fixed the time. Society and Government alike saw that when the war called for sacrifices on the part of the people, they must be helped in every way to retain their physical powers and energy, and that the Government also must fall into line in surrendering its drink profits. The figures from the 600 country districts show that the people understood this themselves. The results cover official statistics from November, 1914, to January, 1915, based upon the four to five months' observations of the different correspondents.

The first question submitted to the correspondents was as follows : What are the results of the stoppage of the sale of vodka on the economic life of the country ? Replies were received from 501 out of the 600 correspondents. Of these, 267, or 53·3 per cent, replied generally that the results were "very good" ; 203, or 40·5 per cent, submitted that the results were "good" ; 29 gave in answer that there were no results, and 2 replied that it was difficult to say,—a percentage of 6·2 ; 99 sent in no reply. The redactor notes in this connection that while 29 affirm that there have been no results, those, on the other hand, who give positive replies point out that it is impossible, even within four or five months, to estimate what will be the total good results from the change.

Again, the replies are not always strictly to the point, some of the correspondents taking up the general question of the results of a bad harvest in connection with prohibition, others giving particular results in individual cases. From the replies wholly in favour of the change, a few excerpts may be given : "Owing to prohibition you cannot see the bad effects of the war." "Owing to this temperance movement we do not feel the bad effects

of a bad harvest.” “The stoppage of the sale of wine<sup>1</sup> has been very good for our economic life : it is as if our people have awakened from a dream.” “The war itself cannot ruin the agricultural life so much as did the wine.” “As a little river retains the water by the help of a dam, so by the stoppage of the sale of wine, money is kept in the hands of its owners.” Some of the correspondents who do not observe any influence of temperance on economic life indicate that it is not reasonable to expect to see any influence in so short a time : a year hence better results may be noticeable. In some districts the reporters state that they do not see any improvement, but add that the reason for this is simply that practically only women are left to work there. Even in the case of the 29, the correspondents usually speak of the good results of prohibition in individual cases.

Two or three questions were directed to obtaining more concrete answers. To the question, “Has any improvement been noted in the case of those peasants whose homes were previously ruined by their drunkenness ? ” 532 replies were given of which 68 were in the negative, while 4 replied, “It is difficult to say.” That there was such improvement is maintained by 460 correspondents, or 85 per cent,—a smaller proportion than in the case of the first question. The replies, however, are full of concrete cases. Many of the correspondents note a very great increase in the number of those who come back from the towns to their villages at the end of the winter’s work. Formerly such men were practically lost to their families as they remained on in the towns to drink.

The following extracts from correspondents in the factory districts bear upon this point. “Many came back from Petrograd who had been away for several years without word of any kind : they came back quite respectable, bringing with them money.” “We had a

<sup>1</sup> Unless the context indicates otherwise, by “wine” is meant vodka throughout this section. The word in the original is “vino.”

glazier who came home ; he used to have absolutely nothing because of the drink, and now you cannot recognise the man ; he is quite a respectable householder."

"All the drunkards are working now. They build new houses and buy cattle." "All those who drank freely before are now very busy with their work, and in every village there are some peasants who are quite different without wine." A peasant writes : "Wonderfully good ! Joy everywhere ! Quite habitual drunkards are well-dressed now, and have repaired their houses." "The heaviest drunkard," they write from the Kinyeshma district, "who only worked one day in the week is now the best workman, and is well-dressed." Another writes : "You cannot see drunkards anywhere, like as it was before. Now they all work in the district factories." "We seldom hear of thieves nowadays : everywhere our professional thieves have disappeared." "The influence of temperance on the life of the population is so great that previously you could not have imagined how great the change would be." "Many about whom they thought before that they were quite lost because of their drunkenness are now getting on, and if it were a better year, the prohibition would have given wonderful results." "You can't conceal the good results of prohibition : the people themselves see them, but they themselves could not have stopped drinking." Even the negative answers usually introduce a saving explanation : e.g. "It is difficult to see the results, because a completely ruined holding cannot be set right in four months."

The fourth question was in these terms : Is there increase in the productiveness of labour as the result of prohibition ? In most cases the correspondents report that the peasants begin to work now and to work more intensively. The efficiency of the labour is higher ; everywhere you can see they work better. Pay is higher because of temperance. The factory districts, however, provide the best area for clear elucidation of this point.

Some say that the influence is not very great. Yet others testify : "The rejoicing peasants cannot believe in their new life. Everyone knows what was the principal thing in all their life,—everyday life and holidays. You could see wine everywhere before. The power of vodka was so great that you could not do anything with it." Such opinions of the people themselves have more value than those of the mere outsider. "Now vodka has quite disappeared from the life and consciousness of the people." "They do not drink now either from joy or from sorrow."

Another question cleverly brings out the feeling of the correspondents upon prohibition in relation to the social side of life,—How do they get on without vodka at their holiday celebrations, weddings, and so forth? In 502 answers out of 539 these vodkaless gatherings are described as "good," "quite good," "quiet," "reasonable," and "much better without vodka." All these answers show approval. Only in 37 answers does it come out that the peasants miss their vodka. "What is to be done? We must do without." "At festivals and weddings we feel awkward without it." "They say jokingly, 'We are dull and miss it,' but after all they are quite pleased with temperance." "For holidays it is all right, but not for weddings." These 37 answers show, then, that they sometimes miss it. On the other hand, others report that vodka is never mentioned now, indeed is quite forgotten. "They are getting quite accustomed to be without it." "As if they had never known it." The war itself has, of course, had its influence on their festivals.

The question as to whether the correspondents had noticed the use of any substitutes for vodka brought out much interesting information. The elaboration of the topic of the use of substitutes seemed peculiarly congenial to those correspondents who were opposed to prohibition. In answer, 456 stated that they had not seen

any substitutes in use, 79 admitted that there were such substitutes, and 65 made no reply.

It appears that substitutes are more in use in the southern districts of the Government, where the mills are. One such substitute is home-made beer, like kvass. The correspondents do not consider this bad where it was used formerly. But it is otherwise where such beer has been introduced for the first time. "They try to make it here of a higher strength": so 18 report. In 6 instances the report is, "They prepare very strong beer": in others, "They use it more." In 5 cases it is reported that the peasants are beginning to use it. Some wish measures taken against this, and in some cases this has been done by the local authorities.

Of real substitutes, "lak" and "politura" (i.e. coloured, and colourless spirit varnishes) are mentioned in 64 reports, as also "kinderbalsam" and methylated spirits and sometimes eau-de-Cologne and "drevesny" spirit (from wood). The correspondents say that only "very hopeless drunkards use such spirits,"—"lost people." "Only one or two in the whole village use these things." "Sometimes they use lak,—mainly joiners who used it before." "Some use red wine, and try to make it stronger with pepper." All these correspondents say that in the beginning they tried to find substitutes but tend to give it up, even calling themselves fools for trying to use such "awful stuff." "Most of all they used substitutes during recruiting, not so much to get drunk as to boast that they could find a substitute." In Kostroma Government it would certainly appear that on the whole substitutes have not been used very much, even in the first months after prohibition, when the lack of vodka must have been most strongly felt. It is obvious from the reports that measures against such substitutes will be quite successful, since the people themselves understand the harm of them. "So we have hope that our struggle against the people who are opposed to pro-

hibition will be successful," who by magnifying the effects of varnish drinking, etc., try and say, Better to give them wine and beer, since the population prove in this way that they wish to have substitutes.

In the questionnaire no questions were put about beer and wine, but some correspondents go out of their way to say that prohibition of these would be very useful also. "They will spend more money because these are dearer, and they will need to drink more." . . . "The results of the prohibition of all kinds of wine give very good results here, and everyone wishes to have no kind of drink again in the future." In some cases this specific reason is added, "In order not to increase our expenses." The mobilisation period was quiet and without excess as the result of prohibition. "No confusion, no quarrels,"—not even (later) with prisoners of war, to whom they are kind. Few reports, however, deal with this particular period. If they had had vodka, some of the correspondents say, the mobilisation would not have been so good.

The replies to another question let us see the influence of prohibition upon the public life of the village community as evidenced in the Assemblies. The reports speak of these as "reasonable," and "more quiet than before." "Such Assemblies have more members now, and they discuss their questions seriously." "The Assembly is more conscientious because there is no vodka as a bribe" (distributed by interested parties). "Now they understand their own interests: previously they would sell everything for vodka." "The business of the Assemblies is decided more quickly, because those who formerly shouted, being full of vodka but empty of ideas, are now quiet." "You cannot imagine anything better now from the Assemblies: the decisions are quiet and judicial and free from the pressure of those who shouted, and tried to get decisions by their voices for those who give them vodka." "Before you could get

anything from the Assembly for vodka. They were quite ready to sell their own property for it."

In relation to the misspending of the commune funds under the influence of vodka, one correspondent writes : " All the Assemblies are quite reasonable now : they transact their business without quarrelling. Formerly, the old people did not come to them because the young peasants did not allow them to voice their opinion ; they considered them too old." " All these Assemblies used to make their decisions under the influence of vodka. I know one village where more than 200 rubles were spent on vodka in one year in connection with the business of the Assembly. Now if they have money at the credit of the commune, they keep it for some useful purpose." " Before, they often drank away their standing timber and standing corn. All the commune business was decided by vodka, e.g. engagement of cowherds, etc. Formerly all surplus commune money was spent on vodka." " Drunkards were like bees near a hive in the old Assemblies " : now all are sober and reasonable, and " even the hopeless drunkards are for temperance," testifies a peasant. So the village atmosphere is being purified, and every side of social, personal, and family life becomes more wholesome. " The village street to-day is pure, where formerly on the holidays or on big business days of the Assembly the tide of drink was covering everything, creeping into every little house, while above was an atmosphere heavy with the vapourings and songs of foul-mouthed men."

More detailed information is sought through another question as to the influence of prohibition on the moral life of the community. The answers are usually very decided. " You cannot hear any bad language ; it has ceased." That is the opinion of 136 correspondents, against 2 who " see no influence ; the young people are as wild as before and retain the same habits ; they are so accustomed to use bad language." The redactor sees

the element of truth in this. "They can continue unconsciously to use bad language," he admits, but hopes that after consciously trying a temperate life, they will continue to try and keep this purity.

In recent years the question of hooliganism (understanding by that term "wildness and mischief without reason") had been much discussed in the country. "Hooligans have quite disappeared," say 37 correspondents, and 121 also say that such unreasonable mischief has quite disappeared. A priest writes: "You cannot see hooligans. The women are grateful; the children rejoice. They all thank God for such good results of temperance. And I, priest of my church, am rejoicing too, and should like complete permanent prohibition of everything." "Police houses of detention are empty now: there are no drunkards." "Everyone is very glad because of prohibition. The wild young people are quite calm and different, showing that vodka was the reason of their wildness. Before, even the little children (of drunkards) were trying to drink: now they have no bad examples." From many districts the same opinion comes. "In one word, life is quite different." There are correspondents, however, who recognise that it is necessary to go more deeply to find the cause of this hooliganism. One in particular notes that not only vodka, but lack of education and capacity to work were causes. Drunkards are better now, he says, but the young people sometimes continue their hooliganism, simply because they have nothing to do. If they are sober constantly, however, they will learn to spend their leisure to better purpose.

The same question dealt with the effects of prohibition upon crime. In 73 replies it is stated that crime has quite disappeared, or decreased. Fifteen reports intimate that theft has lessened; three mention the fact that murders have decreased. Law-breaking has decreased everywhere. Not all the correspondents, how-

ever, consider that this is due to prohibition alone. Their logic and general knowledge, however, are not always particularly sound. Thus one of the correspondents who believes that the cause of crime is not so much drunkenness as ignorance, writes: "After the prohibition, when there is less drunkenness on the holidays, you notice the people becoming more religious, and there is less rioting and bad language. Such law-breaking (as formerly existed) was due to ignorance and looseness of morals,—not only to drunkenness." He then continues: "In the words of the Apostle, 'Wine is not a bad thing in itself, but drunkenness is.' But at the right time vodka can help a workman as medicine, and in some cases vodka helps people to socialise, but of course not taken in a large quantity. For children, prohibition has a good effect, but the root of the evil is in the secret sale of vodka, and such sale has now been stopped."

The writing on the affirmative side is much more impressive. Thus a peasant delivers his soul: "Many of the dark sides of life have disappeared with vodka,—thefts, murders, quarrels, immorality, pauperism, and usury. All vices have disappeared. O God, let our Government understand the necessity of permanent prohibition, because from this hellish poison Russia was on the verge of ruin." Another peasant writes: "With prohibition we don't meet with fightings, murders, and bad language. Everyone feels himself safe now, because the sober man, even if he is still wild and rough, cannot commit a crime." "No crimes, no breaking of the law, and you cannot expect them so far as there is no vodka." "The morality of the people has advanced by a hundred years. No hooliganism, no crimes." One added to his list, "no frozen people," lifting the veil from a once typical Russian winter scene. A priest writes: "The moral standard of the men is now much higher—our women do not drink. The men are more polite, ready to help, and more kind. Bad language has ceased. Hooli-

ganism and law-breaking are at an end.” Another says : “ All are as if they were born anew. They are reasonable, gentle, and more capable for work : and as a result, crime has disappeared.” “ All crime, etc., has lessened by 90 per cent. The village is quite different.” Such reports are very numerous.

As a result of prohibition the number of fires has lessened. Law processes have also markedly declined in number. Seven correspondents say : “ The police have nothing to do.” One concise report runs : “ Before prohibition there were 30–40 cases every month in the district court : now there are none. I (who write) am the judge.” “ The district court only meets half as often as it used to do.” A clerk of a district court writes : “ Formerly, we had 130 criminal cases every year, an average of 11 a month. Now, from July till the present date (4–5 months), we have only had 7, and not one of the most serious degree.”

Besides the above there are 118 reports where the correspondents answer quite shortly that prohibition has had a very good influence on the conduct and morality of the people. “ Very great ” ; “ Very good ” ; “ Cannot expect better ” ; such are some of their verdicts. This really is a universal opinion. Indeed, the good results of prohibition are particularly well seen in the peasant families. “ As all their life is a life without rights, when there was vodka their life was poor in spirit, and women suffered most of all,—drunkards could do what they liked at home. The family home had to accept what the policing of the street would not permit there. With temperance what the peasants call ‘ an unexpected joy ’ has come.” First of all, it is explained, the women can breathe more freely. “ Women and children who were formerly suffering from beating, tortures, and injuries, —as the poet Nekrasov writes, ‘ peasant woman’s life so hard and difficult, worse cannot be found ’—can now see the light of hope and redemption.” As compared

with this life, the reports of the correspondents refer very much to the new conditions. "Nobody on earth ever had such rejoicing before, as the women have now." "All the women are quite delighted." "Women are rejoicing." "God has heard their prayers." "Women thank God." For what are they so grateful, and about what are they praying? "The women are very grateful for this good deed which has made them human beings and not slaves." "Before, women were treated like animals; now, they are treated like human beings." "In a word, the country is preparing for a new life." "You can say without exaggeration that for the wives of such peasants as drank before, this year has been the happiest." Many of the correspondents show also how the changed conditions affect the life of the children. A priest writes: "A mother is quite safe now, and the children are merry and gentle." "Children don't see quarrels between their parents now, and don't hear bad language." "Even the attendance of the children at school is better." "Children have better things to eat, and sweeties in their pockets." "There is a great influence on the children, because some drinking parents gave drink to their children 'for health': the children are in better condition now." "Now they have no bad examples." "Now the children get presents from their parents when they come from market." More attention is paid to the children.

There was a definite question about drunkenness amongst women and children. Some correspondents say such cases are not infrequent. "Women by the bad examples of their husbands try to drink and become drunkards too." "There were such cases also amongst children, especially boys and girls from 10 to 14." One report mentions drunkenness in children of 6. "The parents being drunk gave drink to their boys and girls. Now all this is changed." "Women are quite pleased with the war, because owing to it they have got pro-

hibition and temperance. They say 'War is not so bad as the Government vodka shop.' They are afraid that perhaps the shops will be opened afterwards. They do not like to see the signboards staying up : they are hoping for a time when these awful shops will have quite disappeared." We conclude this paragraph with extracts from two peasant letters. "I wish to write." (He was not one of the enlisted correspondents), "When we had the sale of wine and vodka, it was a terrible life for women and children,—hunger, cold, lack of clothing, beating, sometimes murder. How many tears were shed by women and children ! It was such a struggle, my God. You can hear everywhere, 'We are preparing our sons and husbands for the war, but still it is much better than before when we were suffering so much for drunkenness.' Everyone thanks God that the Government has given this prohibition, and everyone exclaims, 'O God, if vodka could disappear for ever.' " The second testifies : "You cannot see a woman now with bark shoes, nor children going to school in tatters. 'We have war and sorrow, but we have no wine : that is our joy,' say the women. And I must say, 'If we have no wine, we have no sorrow.' "

The foregoing questions were designed to elicit the benefits or otherwise conferred by the prohibition measure on individual households and peasant economy generally. The answer is given in no uncertain tone. Further questions are devoted to finding out whether the correspondents think it possible to have permanent prohibition. Is there any tendency amongst the population that would help in this direction ? The redactor introduces the subject thus : Realisation of the great harm of drunkenness stimulated the peasants to struggle in some districts for temperance, but formerly the profit from the sale of drink went to the Government, and there was no idea that such a struggle could be successful. There were movements towards temperance, but they

were stopped at once because of obstacles, Government and other. Another reason of the lack of success of the temperance movement was that it needed organisation among the people, but under present conditions, such could not be undertaken. The change, therefore, in the drink-politic in the beginning of last year, meant one obstacle less, because the people had now the right<sup>1</sup> to stop the sale of drink by the decision of their Assemblies.

How did the peasants use this right in the Kostroma Government? The investigation does not give good material to answer this. In some places the sale had been stopped before the proclamation. Sometimes the decision was taken "for ever": in two cases for "during the war," and "for three years." Previous to the war a decision of Assembly had been reached in 51 out of 243 volosts in the Government of Kostroma. While some of the Assemblies were in process of deciding, the war broke out, and prohibition came. In 12 more they answer that they had no time to decide themselves because there was prohibition by the Government. Many volosts made no decision because the matter was taken out of their hands by the Government. "We took no decision because the people are quite sure that even without their decision vodka has disappeared for ever." "From some villages where there were no decisions, the correspondents write about the question: 'We should very much like the stoppage of wine': 'there is great need of it': 'everyone would like it.'" In some cases no decision was taken because there did not happen to be a Government shop in the village. The correspondence is full of sidelights on the situation. A priest writes: "There was no decision, but there was a petition from the peasants themselves about the stoppage of vodka for ever." Another correspondent gives a copy of such a petition: "1914 year, 29th day [*sic*]. We, the under-

<sup>1</sup> Granted March 11th, 1914.

signed, even during a very short period of prohibition, can see very well the good results, material and spiritual, for the whole population, and on this holiday in honour of temperance, we all agree to request your Excellency to ask His Majesty for permanent prohibition as a necessity for all Russia, and that for every kind of spirituous drink." In four volosts only were decisions refused or not arrived at because of difference of opinion. "The Assembly was gathered, but many were against the stoppage of the sale." "We had such a question up in the Assembly, but could not get a decision because of those who like drink." "There were proposals to stop the drink, but we could not agree." In one case the failure is explained by the bribe of the salesman, who gave the peasants 50 rubles. "There was no decision, because even sober people need wine for their health." The attitude is sometimes quite unambiguous: "We cannot think about such a decision: we are waiting for the opening of the shop."

To the questions, Is it possible in your opinion to stop the sale of drink permanently, and, What results do you expect if this is accomplished? there are 579 answers. To the first part of the question, 531 reply in the affirmative, and 8 in the negative. Twenty-five answer, "Such prohibition is not necessary"; 4 reply, "We cannot say"; and in 11 instances the answer is indefinite.

The answers to the second part of the question bring out not merely the possibility of, but an actual desire for, permanent stoppage of the sale of vodka. In 29 instances only is there, out of 531 answers, no answer to the second question. All the other replies (502) are of this general type: "The permanent stoppage of the sale of spirits is quite possible and actually desired, as it will give good results in the future."

It is peculiarly important to study the reports showing shades of opinion amongst those who yet believe in the

possibility of permanent prohibition. Of such reports there are 104. "From most of them it is apparent," says the redactor, "that there are people who are discontented with prohibition, but only in 20 instances is any light shed on the point as to who these individuals are." It is clear, however, that they comprise, first, those who had profit from the sale (for there were shops with licence to sell vodka other than the Government shop, but which bought the commodity from the Government shop): the owners of restaurants with the sale of wine: and rich peasants who exploit their poorer brothers.<sup>1</sup> Finally, "the owners of premises used as drink shops are for the renewal of the sale." "Rich peasants are against the stoppage more than the poor ones. The rich ones also sell drink on the sly, and bribe the police." "There are some people who are very fond of drink, and they are for the reopening." "Only the old, 'dark' (i.e. uneducated, not well read) people are for the sale,"—this correspondent sees a certain connection between lack of education and drinking. "Some who have hard physical work, e.g. carters and brick workers, miss vodka because they feel the need of it for their strength even in a little dose." From another report we learn that the stoppage "is desired only by women." In short, for the stoppage are those who did not drink very much, the poor, those who are fairly well off, and all women. For the renewal or reopening stand the rich peasants, hopeless drunkards, and winesellers. In most cases even these correspondents say that the discontented are really few. Only in a very small number of reports is it stated that the majority of the people are discontented with prohibition. So if the majority of correspondents see that the stoppage of the sale is desirable and possible, then there is more reason for giving the more detailed explanations of the minority.

<sup>1</sup> They run private loan businesses, and do better the more their weaker brothers drink themselves into incapacity and debt.

Some very human situations are depicted in this group of replies. "Before giving the answers to the question, I gathered 20 householders from our village, and I read to them a little pamphlet upon temperance. After discussing some questions about the influence of temperance on our life, I could see that everybody understood the harm of vodka, but nobody wanted to deprive himself of it. And on my question, What shall I write about the permanent stoppage of vodka? nobody gave any answer." A priest writes: "Many think that after the war, even if there is still prohibition, they will use substitutes, and in general they all believe in the private sale of drink after the war. They really do not miss it, but this is because of the war: at the end of the war perhaps the old conditions will begin again." Another priest writes: "I do not believe in absolute prohibition; it is quite impossible to be in mourning for ever." One correspondent is very argumentative. "Some peasants are in favour of permanent prohibition, but some are against it, because they think vodka is very often used not as a drink but as a medicine, especially in home-made medicines (e.g. from berries). They can cure themselves in this way without the help of doctors. That is their opinion about vodka. Those who live in the large cities and have never been in the country think that the Russian people are very intemperate, but this is not correct. Of course the Russian peasant is quite ready for a drink, but there are many reasons for this, e.g. climate and hard work, and after all it is not very often that he has this pleasure. Those who know how poor the Russian peasant is, and how difficult it is for him to earn a little money, will understand that he cannot afford to drink continually. He buys vodka for Christmas, Shrovetide, Easter, and Church holidays, but does not buy it particularly for himself but rather for his friends. Of course he drinks himself as well, but there are not so many such holidays in the year. Vodka is necessary not for drunken-

ness, but because of its utility. During the war, prohibition is very good. . . .

“I think, as the people do, that vodka is necessary as medicine for cattle (external application), and for people. Temperance is a very good thing, but for people who have to work very hard it is difficult to get on without vodka.”

Some are afraid that with permanent prohibition, the people will try to make their own drink and suffer from it. Others fear the financial deficit, and the consequent imposition of new taxes. “Don’t introduce permanent prohibition. If the sale of vodka is stopped for ever, where will the imperial budget get its revenue? We shall have taxes on the necessary commodities without which we cannot live. But we can do without vodka; not everyone wants it.” Two or three correspondents do not like the implied restriction of the liberty of the individual. “Such a measure as prohibition is not at all right as a method in upbringing. Such measures can be used for quite hopeless people, but even in these cases it would be better to adopt some more positive educational method; a measure like prohibition should only be employed temporarily. Our sobriety was forced upon us, and at a time when every good person, even without prohibition, cannot enjoy life; therefore such a change in the life of the people is due not only to temperance but to the expectation of something terrible and indefinite that is going to happen. In spite of all the newspapers which talk about the victory of Russia, everyone realises the cost of this victory for every family. How can they enjoy such victory if their dearest are missing? These thoughts, I think, make people sober much more than any prohibition.” Or again: “Permanent prohibition is impossible. Even in the Scriptures we read that ‘Wine makes glad the heart of man,’ especially at weddings, holidays, and winter work. The peasant’s body and that of the workers is not in a good condition

from lack of nutritious food, and when they feel cold, vodka helps, because it quickens the activity of the heart : of course not for a long time, but it helps men to feel better, and that is very much for the working people. Of course it would be possible to have permanent prohibition if we had good theatres, schools, lectures, excursions, and evening classes. But without all these things, the peasant does not know what to do during his long winter evenings. He has nowhere to go but to his neighbour who is also uneducated, and the only place for them to go is to this Government shop. They go there for vodka, and drink till they forget themselves." So then, the dangers of substitutes, fear of new taxes, and the necessity of vodka for working people are the arguments most commonly employed by those in favour of the renewal of the sale after the war.

On the other hand, these considerations have no weight with the great majority of correspondents. "The possibility of new taxes should not frighten them," says one, "because with temperance the people will be better off." In some reports the people are described as quite prepared for new taxes in place of the profit from drink. One peasant says he is quite willing to pay 50 kopeks a year per head of his household as a substitute for the Government drink profit. Others say they will pay more. A priest writes : "They don't miss vodka, and many peasants who liked it very much before are quite willing to pay 10 rubles a year in order not to have the temptation of vodka." "Any kind of tax is better than vodka." "Prohibition is quite possible. Of course the Government will lose its profit, but if we have new taxes, not very heavy, this gap in profits will be filled, and there will be the clear heads of the people into the bargain. There will be less absence from work, and we won't need money to drink away our drink-headaches." We must then balance opinions about the utility of vodka for working people by the statements about the improved

conditions of peasant life. The views about substitutes, taxes, and the utility of vodka are not so serious as the suggestion about the implied deprivation of liberty. "Yet," as the redactor remarks, "some kind of deprivation is quite inevitable when the interests of individuals or separate groups are compared with the interests of the whole. For the individual it would be the same deprivation of liberty if this decision (of prohibition) had been voted by the people itself."

From many of the reports it is evident that fresh educational measures are considered necessary to aid continued prohibition, because a new sober country needs culture, and every kind of such measure will be accepted with great joy. "I cannot say," writes a correspondent, "what will be the case in the future, but they need something instead of wine. (He noted that some are taking to gambling instead.) The need is so great that even the local 'intelligentsiya' cannot meet the need (i.e. even if they put all their strength into providing entertainment,—lectures, etc)." "Entertainments are quite necessary; but the libraries (of the Government) do not give the people anything: they need good books, good lectures, good theatres, etc." "The people want to open *their own* (free) libraries, and get books, etc., of their own choosing." Yet others fall back ultimately on prohibition: "Prohibition is quite necessary for everything; for economical wealth, for their health, physical and moral improvement, and for the stoppage of hooliganism and crime: without it the people will be quite lost. Schools or hospitals cannot help." A priest writes: "You can expect improvement in the people's life only from permanent prohibition: all other measures and expenditures by Government or societies are quite useless. Now crimes are decreasing, and the reason of it I see in prohibition. We could not get such results by education. Prohibition is the only salvation for Russia."

The results of prohibition according to another corre-

spondent, are decrease of crime, stoppage of hooliganism, increase of labour capacity, and decrease of poverty ; these are undoubted. Prohibition, he says, is the only measure to get people temperate, especially for those who cannot withstand the temptation from lack of will. " I spoke with many who used to drink very much, and everyone is pleased now." " Two or three years more," says another, " and our country will be unrecognisable." Another correspondent sees a great change in everything. " It is evident the Russian people have suffered so much that it is very difficult for them to believe such a great benefit can be given to them permanently. They do not complain, they have great sorrow and think it is a necessary part of their existence ; as Nekrasov says, ' this poor unknown people are carrying their great sorrow hidden in their hearts.' " A peasant says : " Permanent prohibition is possible, but the population doubt if the Government will continue to surrender this source of profit. In the beginning of the war there was news of our great losses at the front, and the people only said, ' That is the will of God ' : but when in the beginning of November there were rumours about the renewed sale of beer and other kinds of wine, the people were quite disappointed and considered it as a great misfortune. But now they again have hope and believe in permanent prohibition." A priest writes : " It was interesting to see the disappointment of hopeless drunkards at the rumour about reopening beer shops on the 1st November. Evidently they understood themselves that they were in that plight simply owing to their impaired wills. They say : ' It was so good : there was no vodka and we did not need it ; and now it is to begin again ! How can we stand such temptation ? ' " A peasant who says of himself that he was a heavy drinker continues : " I believe in permanent prohibition and good results from it for all sides of peasant life. Not everyone believes in these good results, because they are personally very much

devoted to vodka: they think that without vodka it would be difficult to live. But if the Government can give permanent prohibition, it will be a great benefit to our district. I used to drink very much and could not help drinking, but I am very pleased with prohibition. Now I have more money and more leisure, and not only I, but the whole population is sober.” Another peasant writes: “What is impossible with man is possible with God. I used to drink very much to keep company and for my own health. But with prohibition, without vodka, I feel much better physically and morally. Also I have heard from those who used to drink very much, that vodka is so harmful that it is difficult to calculate all its harmfulness.” Another is peculiarly frank in his exposure of his fellows’ lives. “Some people try to justify themselves by pleading inherited alcoholism, but now they have to stop drinking without any medical assistance or help from any of the quacks, who are quite idle without vodka.<sup>1</sup> I am for permanent prohibition. Sazonoff.”

The majority of correspondents are therefore agreed in principle about the possibility and desirability of permanent prohibition. The reports show that the country no longer approves of its dark, drink-sodden past. If it continued so any longer, it would in the opinion of many of the correspondents be quite “ruined,” and “degraded.” “I cannot believe,” writes a peasant, “that the Government will begin again the sale of vodka. Why, it is prohibited to spread cholera or Siberian plague or rabies, but the drink cannot be prohibited for ever!” The consciousness that the country can avoid this allows some correspondents to consider permanent prohibition as “the greatest reform, and a most beautiful action.” Or as a peasant puts it: “With the declaration of mobilisation we conquered our first and worst enemy,—vodka, from which all the Russian people

<sup>1</sup> He means that people who drank used to go to them for charms or simples against drunkenness.

suffered so much. Now Russia can have relief, and we shall have the holy joy of the resurrection of the nation."

The last question was formulated thus: "What does the country expect from absolute prohibition?" Besides short answers like, "for the best," "prosperity," "the best of futures," there are fifty longer answers with explanations of this "best future." "They are quite accustomed to the idea of the shutting of the Government shops. Seeing only good results from it, they all want vodka prohibited for ever. In general, prohibition will bring us to general wealth, to a sober labour-life as we see it even now after the beginning of prohibition. We ask God to take vodka from us for ever." Another peasant writes: "Prohibition is possible and desirable; it will bring us economical wealth, education and moral regeneration." "The wish of one from the country: Let prohibition be for ever; long live the vodka-free labour of the Russian people." "With permanent prohibition we shall have quietness in our lives, and the very nature of the people will be changed. We shall have a new generation without drinking traditions." "What will our descendants say? They will erect a monument, and keep holiday on the anniversary of prohibition." A priest writes: "When I was filling up the schedule about temperance, a peasant entered the room, and when I read to him what I had written, he said, 'I should like everyone to know how good our life is without vodka. Let it disappear for ever.'" "With this wish," concludes the redactor, "we finish our article,—with the hope that a temperate people will find the way to a free and joyful life."

### III

#### IN THE TOWNS AND FACTORIES

THE unique social experiment conducted on the scale of an empire in the Russia of to-day has already been the subject of various local studies, of which the most exact and detailed, up to the present time, has undoubtedly been that undertaken by the Statistical Bureau of the Society of Mill and Factory Owners in the Moscow District, in conjunction with the Tchuproff Economical Society. The one element of the combination provided a guarantee of reliability in the furnishing of statistics ; the other ensured accurate and discerning study of them. The investigation resolved itself into two parts. The first, dealing with the effects of prohibition on the whole mass of workers, had under review more general questions relating to their status, working-time, non-appearances, accidents, and fines. The second investigation attempting to reach more accurate answers, particularly with regard to working-time, non-appearances, and piece-work wages, was restricted to certain suitable groups of workers.

##### (a)

The first investigation opens with the observation that in Russian commercial and industrial circles there is an opinion that home industry ought to be protected against the industrial encroachments of neighbouring countries, and as argument is cited the low productivity of the Russian workman, which makes commodities dearer in Russia than abroad. Without taking into consideration the intensity of labour of the Russian and foreign workman, it appears that in a comparison between the length

of the normal working day in Russia and abroad, the disadvantage lies with Russian industry. Official and local holidays make the working year of the Russian workman 4 per cent shorter than that of the English, and 6 per cent shorter than that of the German workman. This difference alone makes competition with foreign, and especially German, imports difficult.

Now one of the principal causes of the low productivity in the Russian mills and factories has always been widespread drunkenness. Constant intemperance has had disastrous effects not only on the intensity and continuity of the output, but also on the quality and perfection of the work, as also on internal organisation, and the relations between worker and employer. The leaders of the Russian industrial class have long understood the greatness of the evil caused by intemperance, but their voice was silenced by the influence of the other classes and by the interests of the Imperial budget. The mill-owners fought against the evil at their own risk by employing only sober workmen or by enforcing the signing of the pledge. But such measures were of little or no avail: it needed the trials of war-time to bring about the realisation of a sober nation. It is quite evident that the members of the Society have been so impressed with the results of prohibition that they have felt it their duty, in face of great difficulties, not merely to make these investigations but to publish the results, in order that an unequivocal answer may be at hand wherewith to meet the opposition that they anticipate may be offered afresh to the reform after the end of the war. "The success of the undertaking (answers were received within a month, covering one-fourth of all the mill-workers of the District) shows us that the temperance movement has many supporters among manufacturers, and has already produced wonderful results." The aim of the investigation was to determine the extent of the evil and to furnish statistics. We must bear in mind, however, the short time devoted

to the enquiry, as well as the fact that many aspects of economic life cannot be expressed in figures.

The evil of intemperance is most clearly seen when we take up the question of "non-appearance." This term ("progul") ordinarily covers every kind of absence from work, however short, as coming late, absence due to illness, strikes, leave of absence, etc. In itself the term means curtailing of the normal working-time, and therefore must be considered as a lowering of productivity. Drunkenness as a cause of non-appearance comes second only to illness, but that very illness is often due to drunkenness. That is why non-appearances form such an important factor in this investigation. Another reason of their importance is that an exact record of non-appearances is always kept by mill and factory managers. As non-appearances show the amount of time lost and therefore the lowering of productivity, the decrease of non-appearances enables us to determine what temperance has done, and shows the increase of productivity from the very first day of the prohibition.

This investigation not only tried to determine the increase of productivity, but also to show the influence of prohibition on the health and morals of workmen: on this account illness, accidents, and fines must be taken into consideration.

All these points were the subject of the first investigation. The reports deal with the months August, September, and October, 1913 and 1914 respectively, and thus provide comparison of the first three months of prohibition with the corresponding period in the previous year.

Answers were received from 172 factories with a total of 214,700 workers, i.e. one-fourth of all the mill-workers of the Moscow District.<sup>1</sup> In view of the fact that some answers were inadequate, a group of 189,250 was taken concerning which there are full answers as to working hours, all kinds of non-appearances, and accidents.

<sup>1</sup> The Moscow district here comprises ten governments.

	Number of workers in the first investigation.	Total number of workers in the Moscow district in 1913 according to statistics of the mill inspection.	Percentage.
Men . . .	106,379	454,082	23·4
Women . .	69,328	329,993	21·0
Boys and Girls	12,293	78,159	15·7
Children .	1,250	14,153	9·1
Total . .	189,250	876,387	21·5

This table refers to the period of three months (August–October, 1913), a time of normal working order. The small number of boys, girls, and children may be explained by the fact that the investigation chiefly concerned large factories with an average of 1200 workers, while the average for the district is 250 : children are not employed so much in the larger factories.

The total number of workers concerned in the investigation varied according to the months as follows :

Total number of	August.	September.	October.	Average for three months.
workers in 1913	186,800	189,400	191,600	189,300
Total number of				
workers in 1914	176,300	183,100	185,200	181,500

In August of 1914, owing to the mobilisation, there was a shortage of workers as compared with August, 1913, to the extent of 10,500, or 5·6 per cent. On an average during August–October, 1914, the number of workers was 4 per cent less than in 1913. The average number of men decreased 10,000, or 9·4 per cent, and the number of women increased by only 2200. The number of boys, girls, and children increased but slightly.

The highest percentage of decrease was found in the chemical industry, i.e. about 18 per cent, in the wool industry 15 per cent, cotton 13 per cent, and in the metal industry only 3 per cent. The last small percentage is due to the fact that in the metal industry the gaps caused by the mobilisation had to be filled up without delay.

We get a clearer picture of the difference in the output of work since the beginning of the war from statistics giving the number of normal working days<sup>1</sup> during each of the months under consideration. (1 working day=1 calendar working day  $\times$  1 worker.)

Number of normal work-

ing days in thousands	August.	September.	October.	Total.
in 1913 . . . . .	4,400.0	4,383.8	4,814.1	13,597.8
Number of normal work-				
ing days in thousands				
in 1914 . . . . .	3,660.5	3,996.3	4,281.9	11,938.7

In August 1914, the number of working days decreased by 17 per cent as compared with August, 1913, whereas the number of workers decreased only 5.6 per cent; in October the number of days was only 11 per cent lower, while the number of workers decreased by 8.3 per cent. The average decrease in the number of normal working days in August–October, 1915, was 12.5 per cent lower as compared with 1913. This decrease may be explained by the fact that in many (especially textile) factories the number of working days was reduced to 4 or even 3 days a week. The greatest decrease was noticeable in the wool industry (23 per cent) and in the cotton industry (15 per cent). In the chemical industry it was 11 per cent, but in the metal industry there was only a decrease of 4 per cent. The average length of working time in August–October, 1913–1914, in calendar days was 72 days in 1913 and 66 days in 1914. Short time in the mills and factories in the autumn of 1914 was due not only to a decrease in the number of workers and normal working days, but also to a decrease in normal working hours.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By the term “normal working day” is understood the day as fixed by the mill-regulations, but not the day really put in by the worker.

<sup>2</sup> By the term “normal working hour” is understood the hour as fixed by the mill-regulations, not the hour really put in by the worker.

The statistics of the number of normal working hours give us a real idea of the state of the mill and factory industry during the first months of the war. (1 normal working hour = 1 worker  $\times$  1 normal working day  $\times$  1 hour of the normal working day.)

Number of normal work-

ing hours in thousands	August.	September.	October.	Total.
in 1913 . . . . .	40,420.7	41,450.3	44,507.7	126,378.7

Number of normal work-

ing hours in thousands				
in 1914 . . . . .	33,333.7	39,902.2	39,159.8	108,395.7

In August, 1914, the number of normal hours, and therefore the output of all mills and factories in the Moscow District which underwent investigation, was 17.5 per cent lower than that of August, 1913. In October, 1914, the number of working hours decreased only 12 per cent. The total decrease in the number of working hours during the three months in 1914 was 14.2 per cent lower as compared with 1913. Besides this number of normal hours the workers put in 3,487,700 hours overtime in 1913, and 2,951,800 hours in 1914. Thus we have the following figures showing the state of the mill and factory industry of the Moscow District in 1914 as compared with 1913.

The number of workers decreased . . . . .	4.0%
„ „ working days decreased . . . . .	12.5%
„ „ working hours decreased . . . . .	14.2%

After this short analysis of the changes in industry produced by the war, we may turn to the analysis of the changes brought about by the prohibition of the sale of strong drink.

(b)

Under the term “non-appearance,” the First Investigation comprised every case of non-appearance of workers,

except those caused by strikes, mobilisation, leave of absence, and temporary cessation of work at the mills. Thus we have here only to deal with cases of non-appearance due to intemperance, illness, home-circumstances, etc.

The following table gives the time missed by workmen in hours :

Total number of non-appearances in thousands of hours, 1913	August.	September.	October.	Total.	Average number of non-appear- ances of one worker for three months.
. 1,411.1	1,368.5	1,567.9	4,347.5	23.0	
Total number of non-appearances in thousands of hours, 1914	979.0	947.5	1,075.3	3,001.8	16.5

During the first three months of the war the non-appearances of workmen decreased 1345.7 hours, or 31 per cent. Such a marked decrease, however, was not only due to prohibition, but also to the fact that in the autumn of 1914, the mills went on short time, which of necessity gave less scope for non-appearances and made the latter undesirable as wages were reduced to the minimum.

To determine the real extent of the decrease, we must take the number of non-appearances to every 100 hours of the normal working time in factories working normally in the autumn of 1914, and in factories working short time.

In 1913, to every 100 hours of normal working time there were 3.44 hours of non-appearance, and in 1914, 2.79 hours, so that in consequence of short time and temperance amongst workers we find a decrease of 19 per cent. The non-appearances of workers employed normally in 1913 amounted to 3.47 hours to every 100 hours of normal working time, and in 1914, 2.57 hours—a difference of 27 per cent. If we compare non-appearances in one and the same branch of industry, always taking the same number of workers, the influence of short time will appear more clearly. Thus in cotton factories working normally

in 1914 there was a decrease of only 2 per cent, and in factories on short time a decrease of 9·4 per cent.

The study of the statistics further demonstrates a great decrease in the non-appearances of men, namely, 11,47,600 hours, or 36·8 per cent. Herein we trace the first beneficial influence of the prohibition, i.e. of temperance. Further, the industries which suffered most from intemperance benefited most by temperance.

For greater clearness we now take factories working normally both in 1913 and 1914, and compare the non-appearances of men, women, and boys and girls in the different branches of industry. Such comparison will give us the increase of productivity in at least part of the factories of the Moscow District under normal conditions. The data<sup>1</sup> show that in some cases there is an increase of non-appearances among women, which goes to prove that the prohibition had no effect upon them. But the striking decrease among men in 1914 proves that their former non-appearances were mostly due to drink.

It is thus easy to calculate the percentage of increase in productivity in the different industries dealt with above. The reason of increased productivity is the better use of normal working time: therefore the percentage of increase in productivity must equal the increase of working time put in. The result of such calculation is that owing to temperance and the consequent decrease in non-appearances, the productivity of five branches of industry under normal conditions should show an increase of 0·52 per cent in the Moscow District and 0·59 per cent for the whole Empire. This low rate of increase in productivity (about half) may seem disappointing to the friends of the temperance movement, but we must not forget that the decrease of non-appearances is not the only reason of increased productivity, and also that this percentage applies to the whole mass

<sup>1</sup> Considerations of space prevent their reproduction in detail at this and other points: the results alone can be given.

of workers, while men who benefited most by temperance form only 62 per cent.

Most non-appearances naturally occur after the holidays and pay-days. In August–October, 1913, out of a total of 4,347,500 hours of non-appearance, the non-appearances after holidays were 1,017,100 hours, or 23 per cent. In August–October, 1914, non-appearances after holidays formed only 18 per cent. In 1913 non-appearances after pay-days occurred more frequently than after holidays, and in 1914 they were almost equal.

As illness among workmen is very often the result of intemperance, one would expect a decrease in non-appearances due to illness after the prohibition, but owing to various causes an increase was observed. In 1914 there was an increase of 20 per cent. This unexpected increase has been fully explained by the factory owners themselves, as being the direct consequence of a national scheme of sickness insurance of workers, which was introduced in the autumn of 1914. Owing to this insurance (1) the registration of non-appearances due to illness was brought to a higher state of perfection, and (2) workers no longer appeared in a state of ill-health but applied for aid. Another cause of this increase was that the stronger men had all joined the forces, owing to the mobilisation, and their places were taken by men of weaker physique or by women.

As stated above, non-appearances due to illness increased 20 per cent in 1914; assuming that, compared with 1913, there was no increase in 1914 (as the increase was wholly due to national sickness insurance), we will find that the total of non-appearances is 2.45 hours to every 100 working hours instead of the actual 2.79 hours. This last assumption makes it possible to raise the percentage of productivity from 0.52 per cent to 0.72 per cent in the Moscow District, and from 0.59 per cent to 0.89 per cent for the whole Empire.

With regard to accidents, the statistics show that there

was not only no decrease, but even an increase in 1914. This fact may be explained by the employment of unskilled workers in place of those who were called to the colours. But it is interesting to notice that the number of accidents after holidays shows a tendency to decrease.

Fines are entered in a special register under three headings :

- (1) For bad work ;
- (2) For non-appearance ; and
- (3) For disorderly conduct.

All three cases can be regarded as resulting from intemperance, and therefore the record of fines enables us to form a good idea of what temperance did for the workmen in the autumn of 1914. The total number of fines in rubles is as follows :

		August.	September.	October.	Total.
1913	. .	14,042	14,671	17,335	46,048
1914	. .	8,752	8,140	9,668	26,560

These data refer to 196,242 workers in 1913, and to 188,380 workers in 1914. The total number of fines decreased considerably in 1914, but not equally in all three categories :

		1913.	1914.
1. For bad work	. .	19,003 rubles	15,889 rubles.
2. For non-appearances	. .	21,667 „	8,098 „
3. For disorderly conduct	. .	5,378 „	2,573 „

Thus we come to the conclusion that the inner life of the mills and factories went on more smoothly after prohibition.

(c)

To determine the increase of intensity of labour (productivity) due to temperance among workmen, the Society of Mill and Factory Owners of the Moscow District dealt in their second investigation with the fluctua-

tions in piece-work wages. Wages were chosen as a standard whereby to measure the increase of intensity, because they presented fewest difficulties. To avoid the difference in valuation in 1913 and 1914, and the difference caused by workmen exchanging one kind of work for another, the second investigation, unlike the first, did not deal with the whole mass of workmen, but confined itself to a selected group. In each separate case the mill-owners chose a group of workmen on the following conditions: (1) That they had worked during the period August–October in both 1913 and 1914; (2) that they had been paid piece-work wages on the same scale in both periods; (3) only those workmen were selected who had done (in both periods) the same kind of work with the same material and machines. Such selection was bound to give better results, but in some instances extreme cases were cited, i.e. workmen with no non-appearances both in 1913 and 1914, or workmen who were the worst drunkards.

The number of workers taken into account by the second investigation was 3358, of whom 2646 were men and 712 women. Answers were received from 88 factories with 158,782 workers.

The questions put by the second investigation concerned: (1) the total number of working hours put in during August, September, and October 1913 and 1914, including all overtime, and excluding all non-appearances; (2) the total number of non-appearances during the same period, excluding non-appearances due to mobilisation, strikes, suspension of work, and leave of absence; (3) the number of hours put in in overtime; (4) the sum-total of piece-work wages, including pay for overtime work; (5) the sum total of piece-work wages for overtime work.

Excluding from the sum-total data referring to overtime work, we get the following figures for each workman in the period August–October, 1913 and 1914:

	August–October, 1913.                      1914.	
Non-appearances of one workman in hours . . . . .	32·7	14·6
Time actually put in by one workman in hours (excluding overtime) .	637	582
Non-appearance in hours to every 100 hours of normal working time (time actually put in+non-appearance) .	4·9	2·4
Piece-work wages by the hour in kopeks . . . . .	13·5	14·1

The great decrease in non-appearances is very striking—55 per cent. This is partly due to the fact that workmen with a high record of non-appearances were chosen, and so we clearly see the effect of temperance in these cases.

We get a more accurate idea of the decrease in non-appearances when we take the figures for non-appearances to every 100 hours, which amount to 52 per cent. We here recall that according to the first investigation this decrease was 19 per cent. The result of such decrease was the better use of working time, owing to which the productivity of workmen showed an average rise of 2·6 per cent. The average rise in piece-work wages of each workman in 1914 was 0·6 kopeks an hour, or 4·4 per cent.

These two figures of increase (2·6 per cent and 4·4 per cent) enable us to determine an increase of productivity of labour in 1914 for 3358 workers, amounting to 7 per cent.

If the statistics are examined in more detail, we find that the productivity of male workers increased 8 per cent in 1914. In view of the fact that owing to the war many factories were on short time and that men were replaced by women, the intensity of labour was artificially lowered, and therefore we will further consider only male workers in factories under normal conditions. In the case of a group of 1505 working men employed in normally working factories during August–October, 1914, it appears that there was an increase of 2·9 per cent in the

better use of working time, and a rise of 6·1 per cent in piece-work wages per hour. Thus the productivity of these workmen increased 9 per cent after the prohibition.

To determine the increase of intensity of labour, we must take a group of workmen with an average number of non-appearances before the prohibition. The second investigation provides material for ascertaining the connection between intensity of labour and the number of non-appearances. For this purpose all the workers were divided into four groups, according to the number of non-appearances for each workman in 1913.

Group I comprised workmen without non-appearances during August–October, 1913.

Group II comprised workmen having from 1 to 30 hours of non-appearances during the same period.

Group III comprised workmen with from 31 to 100 hours of non-appearance. And lastly,

Group IV comprised workmen with over 100 hours of non-appearance.

For each group the average piece-work pay per hour and the average number of non-appearances for each workman were calculated. All these data refer to the same 3358 workmen dealt with in the investigation.

Groups of workmen.	August–October 1913.			August–October, 1914.	
	Number of workmen.	Average number of non-appearances in hours.	Average wages in kopeks.	Average number of non-appearances in hours. <sup>1</sup>	Average wages in kopeks.
I	1195	—	12·9	5·9	13·4
II	1104	14·0	13·3	11·7	13·9
III	774	57·1	13·9	23·8	14·8
IV	285	175·9	15·0	34·2	15·3

This table shows us the absolute increase of intensity of labour for all the groups in 1914. The average rise

<sup>1</sup> The fact that non-appearances are recorded in 1914 in Group I which had none in 1913, can be simply explained by illness. Their average number of non-appearances differs but little from that of all workers in 1914.

of wages per hour was 0·5 kop., 0·6 kop., 0·9 kop., and 0·3 kop., respectively. We can also see an increase of the average piece-work pay per hour in the groups with higher average of non-appearances in 1913 and 1914. Further, these workmen who suffered most from intemperance benefited most from the prohibition. The non-appearances of the slackest workmen decreased as follows: in textile factories from an average of 159·7 hours for each workman during three months to an average of 11·0 hours; in metal foundries from 172·1 hours to 63·1 hours.

Owing to prohibition many workmen wasted less of their working time and took almost full advantage of it. We may even suppose that the rise in wages due to longer working time was so considerable that workmen did not consider it necessary to increase their intensity of labour. Perhaps they reserved their strength purposely, contenting themselves with the increase of wages due to decrease of non-appearances. This is often seen in mills and factories, especially among those who receive low wages. If our supposition holds good, then we must admit that among Russian workmen there are great latent productive powers which temperance has set free—powers which Russia will make use of when the war is over.

We may now attempt to determine the average increase of labour intensity, applicable to the average man, working under normal conditions. From the data of the first investigation we learn that the average of non-appearances during three months in 1913 in textile factories was 18·2 hours, and in metal foundries 29·3 hours. If we calculate the average of non-appearances for the workmen of the first three groups dealt with in the second investigation, who worked under normal conditions in 1914, we find that their former average for the same period and the same year 1913 was 17·3 hours in the case of textile operatives, and 28·1 hours in the

case of foundry men. The very slight difference in the averages is not accidental, but is due to the fact that the workmen of Group IV, as the heaviest drinkers, were not included. Therefore the average of non-appearances of the first three groups is at the same time the average of the average workman. If this is the case, then the increase of average piece-work wages of these three groups shows likewise the average increase of labour intensity and also for the average workman.

	Average piece-work pay per hour in kopeks.		Increase in 1914 as compared with 1913 in percentage.
	1913.	1914	
Textile-workers (730)	11·6	11·96	3·1%
Metal-workers (497)	22·14	24·14	9·0%

According to data of the first investigation the following figures show what use workmen made of normal working time in factories working normally both in 1913 and 1914 :

TEXTILE WORKERS.		1913.	1914.
Normal working time	.	662	641
Non-appearances in hours for one workman	.	17·1	13·4
Non-appearances to every 100 hours of normal working time	.	2·6	2·1
METAL WORKERS.		1913.	1914.
Normal working time	.	703	709
Non-appearances for one workman	.	29·8	14·8
Non-appearances to every 100 hours	.	4·2	2·1

Thus we see that the increase of productivity among textile workers (due to lengthening of working time) was 0·5 per cent, and among metal workers was 2·1 per cent. Therefore, in normal conditions, the average general increase of productivity of labour among textile workmen is 3·6 per cent, and among metal workers 11·1 per cent. Such is the conclusion arrived at from the second investigation with respect to temperance among workmen.

As was to be expected, prohibition made very little difference to the labour intensity of women. In some

cases there was even a decrease, which, as was very well explained in one of the reports, was due to the fact that women were unable to concentrate their minds on their work because of their anxiety for those at the front.

(d)

It may be safely argued that should temperance continue to be enforced after the war, it will give a great impetus to the development of the productive powers of Russia, and this is further borne out by the supplementary reports often added by the manufacturers concerning the general influence of temperance on the labour-power, health, and life of the workmen. These reports are, perhaps, of even greater importance than dry statistics of non-appearances, accidents, etc., for they are the testimony of those who have themselves witnessed the great change which temperance has produced in the life of workmen. Therefore we add extracts from some of the most interesting reports received. These may be divided into two groups, the first of which bears on the labour-power of the workmen.

“The abolition of the sale of strong drink produced a great decrease in the number of non-appearances among those who used to drink heavily. These workmen express their joy over the abolition, and fear lest the sale of drink should be reintroduced.” (Mindovsky and Bakakin, Kinyeshma, Kostroma Government.)

“With prohibition the wages of workmen, at the same valuation, increased. Workmen show greater diligence.” (Gorbunov Brothers, Ladigino).

“With prohibition the productivity of workmen has increased considerably, which is proof of the good effects of temperance. Fines for spoilt materials, non-appearances, and disorderly conduct reach the minimum.” (Government of Tver.)

“In calculating the wages of workmen, we find an increase of 20–25 per cent as compared with the period

before the prohibition, and this, of course, is wholly due to temperance." (Moscow firm).

"In dealing with the question of prohibition, we find that the abolition of the drink monopoly raised the workmen's budget, decreased the number of non-appearances, heightened the quality of work, and in general brought about an increase of productivity." (Moscow firm.)

"In view of the fact that only women are employed in our factory, the evils of drink were not felt by us." (Silk cord factory near Moscow.)

"Since the prohibition absence from work and non-appearances have decreased considerably ; piece-workers earn higher wages, and those who receive monthly or daily payment show far greater productivity and accuracy. With the sale of denaturalised spirit workmen have begun to mix it with cider and other beverages, which is most injurious to health and detrimental to their work." (Cloth mill in Moscow Government.)

"Non-appearances, excepting such as were caused by strikes and mobilisation, showed a general decrease of 30 per cent in 1914 as compared with 1913, and after holidays a decrease of 50 per cent in proportion to the number of workmen. After the prohibition a great increase of productivity was noticeable." (Cotton-dyeing factory in Moscow.)

"The prohibition has had a good effect upon the productivity of workmen ; there is a decrease in non-appearances, and cases of disorderly conduct occur less frequently. The figures of the investigations, however, do not prove this, as owing to the nature of our industry, work passes from hand to hand, and many new workers who were employed after the mobilisation have not yet got into the way of things and thereby hinder the old experienced workers and unfavourably affect the earnings of others." (Gerhardy's Thread-mill, Smolensk.)

"Since the prohibition there is a considerable increase

of productivity and a decrease of illness.” (Tannery near Moscow.)

“On the whole the prohibition has brought about an increase of productivity, and in spite of the fact that our working hours have been reduced from 10 to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  hours no great material loss is felt, as would otherwise have been the case.” (Wool-weaving Factory, Moscow.)

“Non-appearances of men have ceased after holidays and pay-days. Labour-power has increased both in quality and quantity.” (Machine-embroiderers, Moscow.)

“Labour productivity, since the prohibition, has increased about one-sixth as compared with the standard of previous years.” (The International Society of Sleeping-Cars, Moscow.)

“Owing to the prohibition of the sale of vodka and beer, the labour productivity of our workmen shows an increase of 20–25 per cent.” (Cast-iron and Moulding Foundry in the Government of Kaluga.)

“Before the prohibition there were artisans who, in the course of a winter, had 2–3 non-appearances; there were even some who after every pay-day, i.e. the 1st and 15th of the month, absented themselves for two or three days, or even a week. This, of course, had injurious effects on their pecuniary and domestic circumstances, and it was often necessary to give them money in advance. Since the prohibition, however, there has not been a single non-appearance; besides, those who were formerly addicted to drink have greatly improved in health, and they are able to do more and better work within a shorter time.” (Gorojankine, Umbrella Makers, Moscow.)

“Formerly about one-third of our workmen had to get money in advance five or six days after pay-day, but since the closing of vodka shops this is of the rarest occurrence.” (Zaitchenkoff’s Saw-mill.)

“During the sale of intoxicating liquors non-appearances were of frequent occurrence. Some workmen did

not put in an appearance till two days after pay-day ; they seldom worked the day after a holiday. Sometimes they stopped working one or two days before big church holidays, celebrated them at least three days, and it generally took them other two days to get over it all. At other times non-appearances due to intemperance were not of rare occurrence ; weddings, funerals, etc., also served as pretext for a week's non-appearance ; with prohibition all this stopped. Workmen began to regard their work more seriously, their productivity increased, they set store by every hour of their time and leave their work only in cases of dire necessity. We can say in general that the results of prohibition are of the best, and it is to be hoped that this prohibition will be permanent." (Shipbuilding yards on the river Klyasm.)

The second group of reports deals with the effects of prohibition on the life of the workers. From them we see that prohibition has entirely reformed the working-class. Hooliganism, roughness, disorderly conduct, rudeness, late-coming—all this is practically disappearing, as can be gathered from the statistics of the investigation concerning fines :

	August-October.	
	1913.	1914.
Coming late, non-appearance, disorderly conduct, drunkenness, etc.	248 rubles	109 rubles

In 1914 cases of disorderly conduct due to drunkenness, as we see from the fines, decreased more than 56 per cent.

Workmen who were formerly the heaviest drunkards are now equal to the best. Their conduct leaves nothing to be desired ; they have no craving for varnish, polish, or any other stimulant ; they are all clean and well-dressed. The actual reports notify as follows :

"Permanent prohibition, in normal conditions, will create sensible, well-to-do workmen, who will be a boon to the Empire, to the home, and to our industry." (Baline & Co., Spinning Mills, Vladimir Government.)

“While sending you our investigation papers with statistics of the harm drink does to industry, we would likewise call your attention to the extent of the evil of intemperance as seen in the life of workmen, namely, the awful sufferings of their families. . . . The material well-being of the workmen has improved considerably, but the greatest difference is felt in the home-life. Formerly in the days of intemperance 80 per cent of the workmen looked dazed and went about in a kind of stupor. Constant drinking had a bad influence on their moral character: their homes lost all homeliness and were turned into centres of infection and misery. We could point out instances where the parents carried off everything to the public-house. This great scourge was felt most by the children. These poor little things were crowded together in cold damp houses underground, whilst starvation and other unfavourable circumstances made them grow up into weak, delicate, and prematurely embittered men and women. Now many workers have been able to add to their home comforts: their fuller earnings enable them to take better rooms, and to buy better food and clothing.” (Wool-spinning Factory of F. Dufurmantel, Moscow.)

“Misunderstandings and disagreement between workers and mill-managers are now almost unheard of. Labour-power and productivity have increased to such an extent that we would welcome the continuation of prohibition after the war.” (Mechanical Foundry, L. Plo. Moscow.)

“Since prohibition there is a greater output of work, and goods of better quality are produced; accidents occur less frequently. Those in charge no longer bring forward complaints against the workmen, and hooliganism, bad language, and disorderly conduct are things of the past.” (Shawl Factory, Moscow.)

“In the absence of vodka, productivity has increased 25 per cent. Without vodka, the workers have become

more like human beings. There are no more so-called 'Mondays' and 'Tuesdays'; conscience is awakened,—people are ashamed to be bad workers, and it is now possible to live and work with them. When vodka was consumed we were forced to have as little as possible to do with our own workmen, and had to buy goods partly from other firms, but mostly from foreign markets. Should vodka be reintroduced, we shall again be obliged to sell other people's, or foreign, goods." (Balakine's Factory, Moscow.)

"The abolition of strong drink has produced a very favourable effect both on labour and productivity, and on the moral conduct of the workmen, and we hope to see this state of things continued in the future." (Paper Mill, Vladimir Government).

"Intensity of labour has increased considerably. In connection with current events, working time and wages in consequence have been reduced, but owing to the absence of vodka there is no great difference in the workman's budget. The usual non-appearance after pay-days, with all their consequences, are not noticeable, and this improves the morals, the health, the home life, and the labour powers of the workmen." (Print-dye Works, Moscow.)

"There is a marked improvement in the work produced; workmen show greater diligence, and quarrelling and fighting are at an end." (Moscow District).

"Relying on general observations and separate impressions, we consider it our duty to point out the undoubted and great benefit temperance has been to the life and work of our employés. The firm establishment of such a condition of things ought to be one of the principal tasks of our time." (Tea Merchants, Moscow.)

"There are now scarcely any misunderstandings between administrators and workers. There are no quarrels nor bad language. In address workmen are always

polite. Not one, no, not even the worst drunkard, expresses regret at the prohibition : all are pleased, and as for the women, they are simply delighted." (Krasilshikoff and Co., Kostroma).

"The prohibition of the sale of strong drink has had good effects on the conduct of workmen both during working hours and when off work. Non-appearances have decreased, especially on pay-days and the days following. Workmen show greater mental equilibrium. Quarrels in dwelling-houses have altogether disappeared, and so have family squabbles. Policemen make fewer arrests. Doctors are no longer called upon to attend cases of sickness due to drunkenness. Fires in neighbouring villages occur less frequently." (Cotton-weaving and Spinning Mills.)

"Since the Government put a stop to the sale of drink there has been exemplary order in our factory, and all the workmen express satisfaction. There is no fighting, no disorderly conduct." (Paper-mill in the Vladimir Government.)

"The good effects of prohibition are clearly seen. Workmen are more punctual, and non-appearances after holidays have entirely disappeared ; earnings are higher. Workmen are now well-dressed, well-shod, and are able to send more to their homes in the villages or take part of their earnings to the savings-bank. Since the prohibition there have been no cases of non-appearances, of illness, of slight and serious injuries, and earnings have so far increased 25 per cent." (Wood Works, Moscow.)

The above are samples from the reports of many factories and foundries in the Moscow District engaged in various industries, including the smaller factories where patriarchal relations exist between owners and workers, as also those larger factories which give employment to thousands. It is scarcely possible to add anything to the picture thus described.

The study concludes in this strain. "A few months

ago, when the Society was engaged in the investigation of drunkenness, no one thought with certainty that prohibition would last any length of time, or felt sure that no exceptions would be made. This uncertainty is traceable in some of the reports. But now, when almost a whole year has passed since temperance was enforced, we may firmly trust that the prohibition will last on into the future, and will cause the labour of the Russian people to develop and thrive."

## IV

### FROM THE PHYSICIAN'S POINT OF VIEW AND THAT OF THE FUTURE

AN experiment so directly affecting public health could not fail to attract the attention of physicians and surgeons throughout the area covered by it. In particular, Dr. Alexander L. Mendelson, of Petrograd, a distinguished neurologist and member of the Petrograd Town Council, has investigated the matter in very many of its aspects. His results were communicated in a report made to the Russian Society for the Preservation of National Health in March, 1915. I had an opportunity of discussing his conclusions with him, and am able to present the most striking of them, along with data collected by him subsequent to the delivery of the paper.

The results of the prohibition of vodka in Petrograd were immediately seen in a very sharp decline in the number of arrests for drunkenness. These are best indicated by contrasting periods of a half-year, thus :

1913.		1914.	
First half-year.	Second half-year.	First half-year.	Second half-year.
30,510	33,830	29,461	12,242

If we take a single district in the city during 1914, and watch the arrests by the month, the following descending scale is obtained :

May.	June.	July.	August.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
917	666	474	123	100	71	56	31

These figures indicate arrests simply for drunkenness ; in Russia punishment would not follow for drunkenness

alone unless the prisoner had proved disorderly. In view of these remarkable decreases, it was no surprise to learn that hardly any pledges were now being taken at the Temperance Church near the Warsaw Station.

The next series of statistics relates to the Obukhov City Hospital, which has special wards for the care of cases of serious alcoholic poisoning such as are handed over by the police for treatment. The number of deaths was as follows :

		1914.						1915.	
July.	August.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March.	
52	25	27	29	33	46	56	53	36	

It will be noticed that there was a sharp decrease in the initial months of the war, but that the higher rates again asserted themselves ; they mean, in fact, a higher death-rate for a smaller number of drinkers. The anomaly is, of course, explained by the character of the substitutes used. Kvass, with its  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of alcohol, was mixed with methylated spirits, or the latter were swallowed "neat." Now, while vodka has 40 per cent of alcohol (and in 1910 some three million vedros<sup>1</sup> of vodka were consumed in Petrograd alone), this "denatured" spirit has an alcohol percentage of 93. Accordingly any marked increase in its consumption is bound to have very serious effects. The extent of the evil may be gauged by the following figures, showing the increase in the number of vedros sold during the first three months of the years in question, the principal use being, however, for burning purposes.

1913.	1914.	1915.
103,447	112,524	170,221

The sale of "denatured" spirit is now under very strict control. "Politura," which, when mixed with shellac, gives a varnish, can only now be sold under licence.

<sup>1</sup> 1 vedro = 2.7 gallons.

A third series of statistics shows the effect of prohibition on cases of mental derangement directly due to alcoholic causes. In the Obukhov Hospital the number of cases for the first three months of the years 1913, 1914, 1915 was 114, 117, and 67 respectively. The death rates were 7, 6, and 9 per cent respectively, the last highest rate being due to the harder drinking of poisonous substitutes. The statistics for all mental cases for the whole city (30 per cent of them being due to alcohol) was 998 for the last six months of 1913, and 794 for the corresponding period in 1914. Of traumatic cases taken to hospital, most of them drunken, the figures for the five months July to November, 1913, were 710; the following year, for the corresponding period, they had fallen to 237. If we take the month of August alone in these two years, the corresponding figures were 181 as against 30. Methyl alcohol, as is well known, especially affects the optic nerves very profoundly, and may be a direct cause of actual blindness. In the Eye Hospital in Petrograd there were treated 72 cases with impaired vision due to this specific cause from July, 1914, to April, 1915, eight of whom had become blind. Previously such cases were absolutely insignificant in number.

Another series of statistics bore on the suicide rate in Petrograd, limited in the first instance to poison cases (as by acetic acid, etc.) brought to the Obukhov Hospital. Of such, during the five months July to December, 1913, there were 97 cases: for the corresponding period in 1914 there were only 16 cases. A larger series relates to the total number of deaths by suicide in every form in Petrograd. They are as follows for the year 1914:

MEN.		WOMEN.	
First half-year.	Second half-year.	First half-year.	Second half-year.
202	79	123	95

For the city of Warsaw the total number of suicides and attempts at suicide for both sexes during the first

half of 1914 was 442: for the second half of the year the total was 229.

The same general conclusions have likewise been reached by other medical men and statisticians. Thus Professor Bekhteriev notices a general diminution in insanity, criminal cases and prostitution, and a court physician reports that cases of insanity have markedly diminished during the war. Amongst the troops there is only 0·2–0·25 per cent per thousand, whilst during the Japanese War the rate was very high.

Dr. Mendelson has further included statistics dealing with other aspects of the question than those that are purely medical. The reduction in the number of small loans (one to five rubles)—mostly on clothing—made by the pawnshops in Petrograd is shown by these figures for the second half-year in either case: 1913, 177,585; and 1914, 113,306.

The increases in the deposits in the Imperial Savings Banks were as follows for all Russia, in millions of rubles: for July, 1914, the figure was 41·1 less than in the previous year, but for the succeeding months to the end of the year, the figures show these progressive increases, August 10·1, September 25·8, October 21·7, November 24·8, December 35·2. These increases have been more than maintained into 1915 where the total figures of difference in millions of rubles compared with those for the previous two years are as follows for ten months in each case:

1913.	1914.	1915.
+32·8	+35·3	+499·1

For Petrograd alone the corresponding figures for the first three months were:

1913.	1914.	1915.
+2·1	+0·8	+12·3

And for Moscow:

1913.	1914.	1915.
+1·8	+1·7	+8·0

All these figures are official. For the first five months of 1915 the total savings represent a gain of 260 million rubles. These are savings from drink and the allowances payable to the wives of soldiers, but they do not represent the absolute savings, because these are partly expressed in better clothing and better feeding. When we consider that some 840 million rubles were spent on vodka in 1914, and that the Government was counting on that figure rising to 900 millions in 1915, we can realise what an economic transformation must have taken place in the country.

The actual cost of making a vedro of vodka was 80 kopeks, but additional rectification, transport, and selling charges made the selling price of the distiller to the Government 2 rubles a vedro. This the Government retailed at 8 rubles 40 kopeks. On beer not over 3·6 alcoholic strength, the tax before the war was 1 ruble 60 kopeks per vedro, paid by the producer. Now it is 6 and 9 rubles according to the strength of the beer. If the strength is not over 3·6 alcohol, the tax is 6 rubles ; if above, the tax is 9 rubles. Further, if the production of the brewery is not more than 2000 vedros annually, the tax is only 3 rubles.

In any attempt to forecast the future a great number of considerations has to be taken into account. The permanent prohibition of vodka is generally assumed to be bound up with promises of the Emperor to that effect.<sup>1</sup> So far as any indications go, this would be in accordance with the desire of the great majority of the nation to-day. When we pass to the consideration of the continued prohibition of wine and beer the difference of opinion is much more marked, as indeed is expressed in the varying decisions of the different municipalities<sup>2</sup> with regard to

<sup>1</sup> Conveyed in a rescript to the late Grand Duke Constantine and in a dispatch to the Minister of Finance.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Odessa and Kharkhov permit the sale of wine and beer, Petrograd and Moscow do not.

their sale at present. "What I have seen of the advantages of prohibition," said the Professor of Economics already referred to,<sup>1</sup> "has brought me to believe in the absolute restriction of beer as well as vodka. To fight the intoxication produced by beer is ten times as difficult as the fight against intoxication by vodka. Beer intoxication is one of the worst forms of intoxication in the world. If we can arrange that for twenty or twenty-five years the population will not have the opportunity to drink, then the question is solved. If we can do that—and I am not unhopeful—Russia will be saved. But if the liquor interests prove too strong, then the outlook is dark for Russia." As yet, however, no very clear idea has been formed on the subject of the prohibition of beer after the war. There is a tendency in some directions to work in the direction of increasing the use of light beers after the war. Even if this is approved, the price will probably be raised as also the tax. On the other hand, there is a fear that to permit the continuance of even really light beer is to countenance a situation which will be difficult to control. There are only some two hundred million rubles of capital sunk in Russian breweries, so that the trade can be easily bought out. The question of the continuance of beer is then still very open. The question of the continued prohibition of wine is more complicated because of importation. Further, there are wine-raising districts in Russia, e.g. Bessarabia, the Crimea, and Caucasus. The wine-growers in the Crimea are wealthy; on the other hand, those who carry on the industry in the other districts are mainly small proprietors, so that to prohibit the culture of wine would involve them in ruin. It is probable therefore that the wine industry will continue as formerly, though possibly under some restrictions.

From one little village known to me the annual revenue from vodka was 80,000 rubles. When the

<sup>1</sup> p. 43.

peasants under the statute of March, 1914, received again the power of local option, the decision was taken to have the shop closed. Nobody opposed the decision because in their hearts the peasants seemed to understand that vodka was a bad thing, and that they really did not need it ; in the words of one of them, it was "just a way of being happy." It only requires to be added that almost everything remains to be done by the Zemstvos and other local bodies to provide other saner "ways of being happy," particularly in view of any possible temporary reaction after the war.



**THEME IV**  
**ON THE GALICIAN FRONT**



## THEME IV

### ON THE GALICIAN FRONT

IT is evening, and the platforms of the Kiev Station, now ordinarily in the quiet possession of worn-out refugees, become not merely additionally crowded, but are transformed into an arena of intense activity. Porters laden with the multitudinous small packages of the average Russian traveller storm the entries into the cars; orderlies pass along with officers' effects, and stand on guard at a coupé for four which has been taken sometimes for a single individual, and retained simply by the power of the tongue. Later the officers themselves appear walking leisurely, one with his wife leaning on his arm, another gazing into the brave smiling face of his betrothed. One man is alone save for the companionship of his black setter dog. The cry of a child rises above the hurried din, like the true expression of it all,—something sore at the heart. The first bell sounds. The conversation becomes more rapid in some cases; in others the hand-grip tightens and words fail. Then those who are going off slowly mount the steps and seek the windows of the corridor. The second bell strikes, and with its sound there passes a most exquisite pain into tender hearts. The third bell goes and with it the train moves out. You seek your corner. The compartments are quieter now; men are thinking; they are not talking so much.

At Zhmerinka two officers and a couple of soldiers pass along the train examining permits and passports. It is 1.30 a.m., and we begin to meet trainloads of refugees

travelling east. There is remarkably little excitement amongst them or the many other people moving up and down the platforms even at that late hour, although all their movements are vigorous. Once more the train starts off and rolls along, swinging from side to side. At last towards 6 a.m. we reach Proskurov, where we wait a considerable time. People are too intent to look up at the carriage windows as they move hurriedly by. Several families of refugees are lying about, camping out on the platform for the present ; but soldiers now predominate. A little bright-faced boy in uniform is evidently the pet of one group. There are many such amongst the soldiers in the trenches ; they are found to be particularly useful in carrying ammunition and taking messages on the firing line. Again they examine for permits to proceed to the front. Still more mobilisation cars pass eastwards, loaded with refugees.

Morning discloses that we are traversing a flattish country covered with superlatively rich "black earth." It is evidently divided up into numerous small peasant holdings. Every simple object by the side of the track takes on an added interest, for we are approaching the theatre of war. At what point will that circumstance begin to be reflected in the country side ? Certainly not as yet. That young girl watching four or five cows, this man cutting corn, a foal frisking beside its mother as she works in a plough, the scattered cottages covered with thatch peculiarly thickened along the line of the roof and down the edges of the slope to the eaves, with geese wandering aimlessly around them, and the hobbled horses in the grass, do not suggest it in any way. There is no great variety in the landscape ; for the most part it is a vast level sweep with splashes of wood hardly concealing villages. There are no fences anywhere, but the boarded ramparts by the railway side to protect it against drifting snow, serve to remind us of other conditions. Here patches are yellow with sunflower, while larger areas

are under cultivation to sugar, beetroot, or various grains. Here windmills dominate the scene ; there the land supports enormous herds of cattle. And through it all weave their way these irregularly broad indications of travel that correspond to roads.

We pass troop trains. On the platforms of the different stations, kitchen boilers with a dozen faucets are standing full of boiling water, labelled “ kipyatok gotov ” (“ boiling water ready ”), where the soldiers can fill their tin or blue-lacquered tea-kettles without charge. There is also usually a booth or covered stall where peasant women sell bread and sausages, gherkins, and cigarettes. Near Wolotchisk the peasant women are doing very different work,—constructing trenches to defend the railway,—working amidst a wealth of poppies and blue cornflowers, white umbellifers, thistles, and dandelions. Hillocks of grain and monuments composed of bales of straw are piled up in the vicinity of the station, where is also to be seen much Austrian rolling stock taken over and re-specified. Everywhere on the station buildings are warnings, “ Do not drink fresh water ” ; “ Do not eat fresh fruit.” At Podwolotchisk permits are again viséd. The atmosphere has changed somewhat. Names and inscriptions are all in Polish now, and some of the buildings have a certain Teutonic aspect. Many soldiers and officials are moving about the station : on every hand you meet the injunction to use the boiling water provided gratis at the station kitchen boiler. There is real and successful control of the travelling arrangements in these unusual times.

As we push farther into Galicia, the landscape becomes less level, and the railway follows a series of small physiological depressions. The country-side has not a very different aspect from that which we have recently left behind. The shocks of grain while about half the size of the average British stack, are as large again as those in Russia. They are likewise finished off as in Russia, covered over with

a large spread-out sheaf. For the rest, all that one sees is just great ribbons of grain mown or about to be cut, alternating with strips of potato or beetroot or alfalfa, or soil newly upturned by the plough. Then a rough track or some green pasture land intervenes, to be followed by another series of ribbons at right angles to the direction of the first. Sometimes this type of landscape is lost only on the horizon ; at others it may be more quickly bounded by stretches of tall birch or ash. In the immediate foreground the only moving object is now a gathering machine, driven as often as not by a woman ; now it may merely be four or five very sedate storks. The actual reaping is mostly done with the scythe ; sometimes women undertake it simply with sickles. Then suddenly we sweep past a succession of comparatively recent graves, and realise for the first time that we are not in a quietly ordered world of peace.

Tarnopol, on the Sereth, is a town of considerably over 30,000 inhabitants, lying some seventy-five miles eastward of Lemberg ; half of the population are Jews. Here as the base for the time being, our train empties itself of its military freight, and quickly the officers disappear into the restaurant ; by one might have been seen sitting his very intelligent black setter dog. My friend in virtue of his office of hospital "intendant" has been able to buy some bottles of red wine in Kiev. He produces one and offers a glass to the officer sharing the same table. "Blagodaryu, ya ne piu" ("Thanks, I do not drink") is the firm reply. Outside the station are dozens of telyegas laden with stores, being got ready to move towards the front, a subject of anxious interest to crowds of inquisitive Jews. In the immediate vicinity of the town is a large sheet of water, not far removed from which are acres of canvas, whence come the soldiers who throng the streets. Tarnopol has, indeed, an unusually beautiful situation, although little of its rare beauty is in evidence at close range. But from a certain point on one of the



"A PICTURE IS GAINED OF TARNOPOL."



"THE VILLAGES ARE PRACTICALLY INTACT."



great highways which leads by a sharp ascent out of the town, marked on the one side by a plaintive pedestalled Madonna and on the other by a Christ in stone, a picture is gained of Tarnopol, its churches and its waters, which must arrest the incoming traveller as it breaks on his view for the first time, or detain him for a moment ere he turns his back upon it, to lose himself in the great billowy lands beyond. For out into these the road quickly brings him, a road that might ordinarily have a certain loneliness about it, but which to-day seems burdened with the incessant passage of animal and of human life in a dozen different guises and on a dozen different missions. Single Cossacks dash along at the extreme limit of their horses' speed. Fodder and straw are moved with toilsome slowness in country waggons with complaining wheels into the town. So thorough is the work of these peasants that it almost conveys the sense of a retiral. Others, again, seem to be lying lazily in the straw in the bottom of their two or three-horsed telyegas, or going about their lesser businesses in the usual way. Supplies go forward with loud-tongued insistence by the transport men. Towards the left in the far distance are woods, and separating us from them stretches of land laid out in broad parallel strips, so brightly and so variously coloured that it seems as if some gigantic patchwork quilt had been let down upon the earth. They are bright yellow where the grain has been garnered, dark red with buckwheat, green under potatoes, black where the soil has been ploughed, a lighter green where the grass is young, and purple and red again. In other directions wander immense herds of cattle and of horses, tended by boys or girls. Then we come on men and women working together in the construction of trenches, in front of which have been already placed a double line of four rows each of posts with strong barbed-wire entanglements. Some of these entrenchments are close to the chaussée; others are disposed at more distant strategic points, all

commanding the approach to Tarnopol. The men and women engaged on these trenches are of course the local peasants, working under no compulsion whatever, attracted by the daily wage of 1 ruble for men and 46 kopeks for women. Indeed more apply for such work than the Russian Government can employ ; they come and make enquiries without fear. By religion they are either Uniat or Catholic. Every elevation on the road is marked by a shrine or image, larger than those usual in Italy or France. The war has already passed that way, as here a burnt-out mansion, or there a ruined mill unmistakably testifies ; the villages are practically intact.

We move slowly up a hill by the broken road, so slowly that the little crimson flag with its green square centre bearing the number of our Infantry Division, which usually flies boldly from the bonnet of the powerful car, now droops helplessly. But as we approach the summit, it stands out again, borne on a wind that comes sweeping over the plains with a murmur that seems composite of the cries of those who have laid down their lives,—the soul cries of the soldier martyrs.

A long low line appears on the road towards the horizon. It draws nearer and nearer and resolves itself into "Sanitary Train No. 303," en route for Byelostok. A bandaged head, with a deep red stain in the centre of the bandage, rises up out of one of the telyegas to gaze wearily at the passing car. Three and fifty of these covered carts and waggons move past, bearing their human pain and sorrow. And the earth wonders,—the smiling earth, producing her flowers and grain on either side of us, as if nothing had ever happened.

A new element intrudes on the landscape. Snuggling in close by the sheltering woods are various little encampments of refugees. They have been there some two months now, originally shepherded thither by Cossacks. As yet they have no light upon the future. Farther on they have camped out on the open plain, superlatively



"SANITARY TRAIN No. 303."



"LITTLE ENCAMPMENTS OF REFUGEES."



patient and enduring. But the darkness begins to descend, and we have still many versts to go. The fluttering flag startles the horses in an approaching brougham, and as neatly as if it were a practised art, the whole conveyance turns over on its side in the ditch by the side of the road. A lady steps out alone and unattended, and more disposed to blame her horses than our car. In a few minutes the whole equipage is readjusted, and she resumes her journey towards the town. The darkness increases, and soon the fires from the refugee camps out on the plain, play back to the stars.

After many versts we turn off the highway, and while woods seem to invest us more and more closely, we occasionally hear a far-off low rumble, which is not the thunder of nature. Once again we turn sharply off in the darkness as if entering some private avenue. The sound of voices and of laughter comes to us : we get amongst a number of outhouses and open yards, around which are disposed bivouac fires. Silhouetted figures rise up quickly and come to the salute in immobility. An abrupt bend to the right, and in a few moments we have swung in under the covered porch of a large white shadowy building,—an old Schloss, at present the headquarters of the General of the — Division and his Staff. It is very late, but we are urged to partake of a simple but excellent meal. My companions and myself are given a room next to the General's,—in fact the only way to his leads through ours. It is all so strange,—the sensation of being in the enemy's territory. How will hostility express itself,—will it be always there, at every moment, exhaled from everything ? I step out into the darkness by way of the verandah on the side of the house opposite to that by which we entered. There is an open space, perhaps a garden, bounded by some brooding spruces, but there is no sound unless the occasional measured step of a sentry, beating out his guard on a gravel path.

There is a certain unusual feeling in thus being a guest

in a mansion from which the proprietor has fled. Yet if he could have returned to the Castle on any August afternoon in 1915, he could only have wondered at the generous attitude of those who for the time being had succeeded him in the occupancy of it. The outer hall hung with the trophies of the chase—boar's heads and wild duck, deers' head and falcons,—still retained its welcoming aspect. The walnut-cased grand piano of Dresden make stood in the dining-room unharmed in any way. The billiard-room, regularly frequented by members of the staff, was treated as their own would have been. My companions and I had camp beds in the boudoir of the lady of the house, but her letters, collected Christmas cards and picture postcards, were lying exactly as she had left them. "Lola, 1900," and other signed photographs stood plaintively in their frames and racks just where she had placed them. The room and its setting,—more distinctive and closer to the spirit of the house than the undiscerning outer hall—worked itself into your being, under such circumstances. The fawn-coloured orchid-patterned wallpaper, the white-tiled stove in one corner, the artistic oil lamp, the screen, the easy sofas and covered arm-chairs, the vases and even the nests of little tables, all seemed to be waiting to serve some vanished presence, and as if rebellious at the intruders. There was a hardness in the faces of the family portraits: the oleographs and prints expressing their detestation by hanging squint. I wandered all through the Castle one day. By means of a little iron spiral staircase placed in a corner of the hall, access was gained to the upper floor, the principal room of which was also hung with family portraits, and contained two good-sized bookcases. The contents were mainly Polish works, but "Fabiola" by Cardinal Wiseman, "Tom Brown's Schooldays," "The Great Lone Land" by General Butler, a work by E. Denolins entitled "A quoi tient la Supériorité des Anglo-Saxons," together with many books on Natural History, testified



THE OLD SCHLOSS, VIEWED FROM THE BACK



VILLAGE BESIDE THE SCHLOSS.



to the wide outlook of their owner. And if he had followed me through his house, I do not think that he could have complained of anything except the state of his now long unpolished parquet floors.

At the back of the old Schloss was a pillared porch, from which steps led down to a terraced walk. From this in turn the ground fell away in a series of terraces to a little park planted with shrubs and finally shut in by rows of pine trees, with a break only at one point immediately opposite, through which showed some of the village cottages on a rising slope, themselves partially concealed by rich and variegated vegetation. A flamboyant vine spread all over the porch and pillars and that portion of the wall immediately above it. Geraniums flowered gaily in boxes by the balustrade, but the paths were all overgrown with weeds ; and the roses, stick-trained and named, yet showed by their wildness that they had long missed some wonted tending hand.

One morning we go the round of inspection with the General. He has under him four regiments of infantry with cavalry and artillery,—25,000 men in all. A body-guard of 100 Cossacks is quartered in the large outhouses and stables of the Castle. In one coach-house stand a dozen motor-bicycles ; in the others are disposed the five or six powerful cars used by the Staff. Here only does one see the wastage of war so far as the proprietor of the Castle suffered under it. His carriages have been allowed to stand out in all weathers simply because there is no place to put them, and they have certainly been ruined : *mais c'est la guerre*.

The Cossacks have lined up near the long thatched shed where they sleep, their beautiful horses tethered to feeding posts, which are shaded by trees.

“Sdravstvuite, Kasaki!” (“Greeting, Cossacks!”) calls out the General, and in a thunderous staccato come back the words, “Sdraviya Jelaem Vashye Prevoschoditel-

stvo" ("We wish you well, your Excellency!"). "Dovolno!" shouts the General ("Enough!"), signifying that they may come from the salute. A boy of sixteen is led up; he is an Austrian, already in training to join the Russian army as a volunteer. He is proud to be greeted by the General, and has evidently already become good friends with the Cossacks.

One day was devoted to examining the working of the Army Medical Department. After first aid on the field the wounded soldiers are brought back to the village beside the Schloss for their second dressing, and then removed to the hospital at Tarnopol; thence they proceed later by train to Kiev. The village schoolhouse has been taken over as headquarters for the divisional principal medical officer and his subordinates. A large tent near by, part of the local arrangements for the accommodation of 280 wounded men, has just been "evacuated," and contains nothing but the latest case,—a poor fellow who had been carrying a grenade which was hit by a bullet and exploded, smashing his arm and leg. He has just had the former amputated, and in his sleep is tended by an orderly who stands at the head of his palliasse, keeping off the flies. One cannot help being impressed with the neatness of this divisional field hospital, in which everything can be packed up and got under way within an hour. The complete dental outfit,—chair, drills, and other apparatus going into two boxes otherwise used as tables,—the ambulance carts that have been in continual use for a year, constructed to carry four lying down or eight sitting, the outfits for the attendants in the field (feldshers<sup>1</sup> and sanitars)—more complete, as my American companion, a Red Cross Colonel, testified than the corresponding outfits in his own country,—have been well tried in the Carpathian

<sup>1</sup> The feldsher is a qualified medical assistant. After leaving school he takes a short medical course. He gives first-aid in the field and in the trenches. Sanitars are orderlies who bring in the wounded, etc.



"A TAILLESS DOG OF A PECULIAR BREED."



"THE LARGEST BUILDING ... HAD BEEN A DISTILLERY."



and other campaigns, and survived the test. The largest building in the village had been a distillery. The Russians took it over and transformed it into baths—steam and hot water—where 1000 men bathe daily, so that the soldiers in that division get one Russian bath a month. A tailless dog of a peculiar breed, taken from the Austrians, is led out and fitted into its little Red Cross coat: they are used for finding the wounded. In a park near the village are the additional field-hospital elements provided by the Red Cross Society to supplement the regular army establishment of eight carts for sick and wounded to each regiment,—35 telyegas particularly well equipped with mattress, covering cloth, and pillows with distinctive blue lines worked through the ticking. Such telyegas can carry four men if necessary. How they would have liked to have had them in the Carpathian campaign! “In one night I had 1700 wounded to look after and my transport was gone. . . . I lost 75 per cent of my medical personnel. . . . Of my 22 original feldshers, 8 only are left.” In short word-pictures one was given to understand the horrors of that Carpathian retreat. At present there are no infectious cases, and no cholera in the district allotted to this particular division. But as yet they have not succeeded in overcoming “the infinite torment of flies.” Forty thousand respirators have been collected in anticipation of attacks with poison gases.<sup>1</sup>

The feeding arrangements seem to be very thorough. Every line regiment is divided into 16 “roti” (companies): in every rota there are 250 men. Every rota has a couple of samovars, each with a capacity of 66 litres; it also has 8 teapots with a capacity of 7 litres each, so that the soldier can always have tea and hot water every half-hour under normal conditions. He has two meals a day, at noon and at 8 in the evening. He receives a daily allowance of 1 lb. of meat and 3 lbs. of black

<sup>1</sup> These are soaked in a preparation made after this formula: glyc., 165.0; nat. hyposulph., 990.0; H<sub>2</sub>O, 2760.0; nat. carb., 165.0.

bread, together with tea, and 12 pieces of sugar. At each meal he gets soup with potatoes and rice, and about half a pound of kasha (gruel). In that district at that time the feeding of a soldier cost 58 kopeks a day. A bottle of red wine was also being served out daily amongst every 8 soldiers as a preventive against cholera. The soldier's pay on the lowest grade is 75 kopeks a month. The separation allowance to a reservist's wife is 5 rubles a month and 3 rubles for each child; widows receive less.

Another afternoon we set out for "the positions." At that time the line lay along the valley of the Zlotaya Lipa, the Russian trenches being on the one bank, and the Austrian on the other. The Russians had been on that particular position for six weeks and the front was generally reported as "quiet," although rifle and artillery fire were kept up by day and night, especially at night. The road followed the direction of the high road towards Tarnopol for a time, and then we turned off sharply into a birch wood on the left. After traversing this we came out on a broad dale which wound its way between thickly wooded rising ground on either side. The general direction was towards the valley of the Zlotaya Lipa, yet short of it were hamlets, and the dale issued in rising ground in part bare, in part wooded, which in turn fell away into the valley of the river. In the woods on either side of the dale the reserves were encamped, and regularly towards evening the dale and woods were searched with shell and shrapnel from the Austrian batteries across the river. As we descend the dale one shell explodes in the wood to the left, another ploughs up the ground in the open ahead of us, a third gets two horses and a man on the outskirts of the wood to the right. Yet under it all, particularly where we moved up the ascent that would bring us into view of the Austrian lines, peasant women were working in the fields, reaping their corn with sickles, as calmly and deliberately as if nothing were happening.



" PASSED OVER IMMEDIATELY INTO A COMMUNICATION TRENCH "



" PEASANT WOMEN WERE WORKING IN THE FIELDS



The road we were following reached the summit and then commenced to descend the slope towards the river in full view of the Austrian lines. It ceased to be serviceable, therefore, in that respect, and we passed over immediately into a communication trench, whose deep-cut windings and zigzaggings in a thick clayey soil, exposed sometimes to the depth of the limestone beneath, afforded sufficient protection over the nearer ridge, till we got to one that was wooded, under the shelter of whose bushes were encamped the reserves of the particular companies holding the trenches beyond them. There were many *tentes d'abri*, but the actual living was mostly done in the regular lines of dug-outs that honeycombed the ridge, and testified by their shrapnel-proof roofs to the character of the normal conditions of life. Camp fires were burning merrily in spite of the heavy rain. In company with the colonel we moved 100 yards farther on through the wood till we came to the first line trenches. At every step of this short passage the effects of occasional shelling were in evidence. Small craters 6 feet in diameter and 2 to 3 feet deep were obvious relics of uncomfortably close attentions. At the same time the Russians thought that they had observed a marked deterioration in the quality of the German shells. Of 51 that had lately come amongst them, 16 had not exploded. From the first line trenches the Austrian trenches were clearly visible across the river 400 yards away, with a very long zigzagging communication trench that led up the opposite bank till it gained the shelter of a forest.

Of the four battalions comprising a regiment it was customary here for two to be in the trenches for four days and three nights, while the other two were in reserve during that period. The change is carried out during the fourth night. The different *roti* or companies have each their own definite locality for encampment in the rear : this aids in the localising of epidemics or sickness. There is a very characteristic development of the field

kitchen,—principally for the supplying of the hot soup in which the Russian takes his meat, although the use of them also tends to keep the camps more sanitary. The men in the trenches can only get one hot meal in the 24 hours. Their portable field kitchens are brought up at night from the reserve positions to the support stations of the trenches.

In returning, we went into the wood of oak and hornbeam ("grab") on the edge of which the reserve battalions were encamped. Rain was falling in torrents, and the little tents, formed by stretching canvas over a horizontal pole supported by two short vertical ones, were largely abandoned for the shell-proof dug-outs. Shadowy figures moved in the gloom of the trees between the tents, the piles of rifles, and fires surrounded by numbers of teapots and samovars. With their cartridge pouches full of cigarettes for the time being, the soldiers were content to let the elements do their worst.

The rain passed, and we moved out to visit one of the batteries. To reach it, situated on open rising ground that finally sloped away down to the river valley, meant passing round the end of one of the woods. This passage, owing to the conformation of the land, happened to be in full view of the Austrian lines, and necessitated the negotiation of it in pairs or by single individuals. But speedily we got into a hollow again and then climbed slowly towards the battery. It was now composed of only six 3-inch guns made in 1902, since two guns had had to be detailed to another battery. It had accounted for two Austrian batteries at the battle of Krasny on August 10th, 1914. On the San, during the same campaign, it had fired 3000 shells in one day, and together with the other five batteries, now in the same district, had silenced a strong field fort (Lyejakoff) at the cost of 12,000 shells. It was indeed a famous battery, dating back to 1812, and decorated with the Order of St. George. The guns were standing on land from which the crops



THE FIRST LINE TRENCHES



MIMICKING THE SURROUNDING SHOCKS OF GRAIN.



had been taken, but so skilfully were they covered with straw that the Austrian aeroplane which used to reconnoitre the Russian positions towards evening, and occasionally dropped leaflets of a seditious character,<sup>1</sup> had apparently not yet discovered them.

We went to the observation point more than half a mile away, from which the effects of their shelling could be seen in the sector of the river valley covered by the guns. A deep communication trench led towards and then along the Russian side of the ridge, till it suddenly turned down to the right into the face of the slope. At the end was a binocular range-finder, through which on the far side of the valley could be seen two parallel whitish lines representing the first and second line of Austrian trenches,—just very much as if it had been necessary to lay down two lines of drains at different levels along the valley, and the navvies had thrown out the material on this side of their excavation. Not a sign of a movement was visible anywhere. Yet only about half a mile to the right was a village situated on the river's bank, which both sides had apparently agreed to leave untouched, and where men and women and cattle could be seen going about.

One day it became necessary to try and find out whether certain German troops had been withdrawn,

<sup>1</sup> The translation of the proclamation overleaf is as follows :

Seven Rubles  
pays  
the Austrian military administration  
for each Russian rifle  
(and 1 kopek for each Russian cartridge)  
brought  
to the Austrian authorities.

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The prisoners in Austria are well fed  
and well treated.  
Come over to us, then quickly  
the war will be finished.

i.e. whether Austrians alone, or Germans and Austrians, held the trenches opposite at a certain point. The idea was that by vigorous shelling of the trenches, and of the woods where the opposing forces were believed to be, it might be possible to force them to expose themselves at some point or another, and from an advanced observation point the necessary information could be gained by noting the uniforms, if in no other way.

The morning broke grey and cloudy, and distant mutterings of thunder betokened a renewal of the heavy rains that had recently disconcerted action on either side, and reduced the roads, such as they were, to quagmires of most tenacious slime. Long before the hour fixed for the start some of the Cossacks were standing at the front entrance of the Schloss, holding the champing horses of the Staff, their own horses being looked after by their comrades. Infantry men with fixed bayonets stood at the corners of the broadened avenue waiting until the General, map in hand, had gone over the last details of the day's work with his Staff under the entrance porch. He was a true Russian in his kind-heartedness and in his impulsiveness alike, and as in blue-grey uniform with red lapels he moved off on a black charger, he looked what he really was, a great soldier. The other officers sprang into their saddles and followed him sedately on horses no two of which were alike in colour, while the Caucasian Cossack officers with bashliks red or fawn, and black burka sweeping behind them to the root of the horse's tail, started last and went clattering past on their special business for the moment of preparing a way. It was a brave picture.

The character of the country and the nature of the journey were as at other points of the line. The road lay in parts through open country, pasture land or stubble, acres under cultivation to potatoes, flax or buckwheat. At one point you could see ahead to woods sloping towards us from the top of which smoke issued, as if the forest



"LEAFLETS OF A SEDITIONARY CHARACTER."



"AT THE END WAS A BINOCULAR RANGE-FINDER."



were on fire ; there, we could tell, some of our forces were encamped. At other times we plunged into birchwoods, following one another in Indian file or making our own way parallel with the others. Once again we would come out by some peasant's hut knocked to pieces by shell-fire, and follow a road where steps had to be chosen owing to the same cause. In time we reached some open patches on the summit of that side of the main valley that was ours, across which the procedure was to gallop singly or in pairs, as they lay exposed to the enemies' lines across the river. These were now open, now concealed in woods similar to those on our side of the river, but the enemy was in greater force and credited with a desire to advance and attempt to retake Tarnopol.

Rain was now coming down in torrents, and at some points mist lay in the valley. At last we reached the particular wood along whose edge, in a direction at right angles to the line of the valley below us, a regiment was encamped. It was they who would have to be prepared for any uncalculated results that the bombardment might produce. The plan is outlined on the map to the officers grouped around under a broad sheltering tree, for the rain had not slackened. At 11 a.m. all the batteries will concentrate : the 35 guns will each fire just two rounds so far as possible simultaneously, thereafter batteries 2-6 in succession will fire so many rounds, and lastly battery 1.

Before moving on, the General made a tour of inspection of the lines of sunken dug-outs in which the men were quartered on the edge of the wood. Ten to 15 feet long, 6 to 8 feet wide, 4 to 6 feet deep, the shelters were concealed in front by a row of birch branches fixed in the ground along the length of the lines ; behind this screen a definite footpath had been constructed the whole way along. They were floored with straw, on the top of which the men had spread their overcoats. A slanting shrapnel-proof roof was constructed by the aid

of logs of the length of the dug-out, 3 to 6 inches in thickness. These were overlaid with thin branches, sods, and lastly green branches. They showed considerable variety in construction, and being well-ditched and with comfortable steps cut out in the hard clay soil, were likewise proof against bad weather. Everything around seemed clean. Special shelters were made for the rifles with bayonets fixed, supporting one another in a double row. The ground was unusually slippery with the rain, but the Russians with their unnailed low-heeled boots moved about with no apparent difficulty.

Thereafter we passed on to one of the batteries which was to take part in the coming bombardment. The way led through a beautiful wood of tall graceful birches with a rich undergrowth of ferns and shrubs and lush green grass. It was difficult to restrain from holding back simply to watch the effect of that brightly caparisoned staff disappearing amongst the trees. The battery was posted in open ground between this and another wood, but an artificial spinney of hazel and birch branches had been so cleverly constructed around and about it, that the questing Austrian aeroplane that was so unremitting in its attentions had apparently as yet made no discovery, and an unsuspecting pedestrian would not have been aware of anything till he had stumbled on the guns. But eleven was approaching, and we had still some distance to go to reach the observation position from which we could watch the effects of the bombardment.

On the edge of the river-valley there was a fringe of wood in front of which lay open ground sloping gradually downwards, and just beyond it some brush over which could be gained a very clear view into the valley below. The river at this point looked to be some 25 to 30 feet across, and was spanned by a wooden bridge. Close to the farther bank was the first Austrian line, difficult to see, being merely a deep-sunk trench without any material



" IN PARTS THROUGH OPEN COUNTRY "



" SPECIAL DUG-OUTS WERE MADE FOR THE RIFLES. "



thrown up in front. Somewhat behind this first line lay the village of —, consisting of some rows of white-walled huts and cottages with brown thatched roofs, and two or three larger stone buildings, one of which with a blue slate roof was obviously a school, another a church also with blue roof and steeple, while a third with a red roof looked like a long shed. On the north-west side of the village was a clump of wood extending up the side of the valley, and behind both village and wood was the second Austrian line, much clearer than the first by reason of the parapet of soil thrown up in front. Where we stood in the fringe of our wood, a small but deep cutting led to the edge, and there the hyposcope was dexterously concealed while the telephone in communication with the batteries was close at hand. We stood, watches in hand, waiting for the hour when the attempt should be made to destroy the bridge over the river and to damage the trenches. At last the hour comes, and with it the descending wail of shells arriving from all directions over our heads. The observation officer and the man at the telephone are busy in a conversation built up out of figures from the map, indicating the exact point of aim and distance, followed by the recurrent words, "Pritsyel" ("Take aim"), "Ogon" ("Fire"). For the whole course of the bombardment is thereafter controlled, shot by shot, from this point. And all the time on the open slope immediately in front, a peasant continues to plough his acres in greatest equanimity. That *had* to be done.

The efficiency of the Russian artillery has from the beginning been a vital factor in their conduct of the war, however hampered they were at a certain stage by a lack of heavy guns and of ammunition. The objects of the bombardment in this case were perfectly definite, and were attained in a way that seemed past belief. There was a strange fascination in listening to that scream of something cruelly forcing its way through the air, till

the sound ceased and was succeeded by an explosion as a cloud of smoke rose where the shell had burst in or over the trench, or a shower of earth fountained upwards when it struck the fields behind the village. Sometimes there was a flash, sometimes the discharge showed only as a cloud of white or at other times of dark brown smoke as shells, grenades, shrapnel or bombs were hurled at the positions. Nothing moved in the village : it seemed like a place of the dead. The bridge went, the trenches were torn to bits, but only three shells, so far as I could see, hit the village at all. Several were dropped in the wood, white clouds playing amid the tree-tops as they found their mark. A colonel on the Staff draws attention to forms slipping out of the wood at the far corner and rushing to the cover of the second line trenches. He even declares that through his glasses he can make out an officer of high rank. But there is no doubt that they are Germans. Then the song of the shells seems to change. They are coming this way now, trying to find our batteries.

One morning I went round the village that lay quite near, outside the walls of the Castle grounds. You walked out by the continuation of the avenue in the opposite direction to that by which we had entered, and were immediately on a broad road that descended into the main thoroughfare of the village. The peasants were of pronouncedly Slavonic type. The men, ordinarily dressed in a loose white cotton jacket and trousers, looked out from under tall straw hats that had a brim equal in breadth to its height. They wear their hair long ; the women wear it just a little longer, and dress in brightly coloured garments not unlike some Russian peasant styles. The cottages usually stood end-on to the road, forming one side of a yard, of which the other sides were composed of barns and outhouses. The walls of the cottages were white-washed, with filleted brown thatch roofs. By

religion these peasants are Uniat. They often have a large-sized sacred picture hanging on the outside wall, beside the door of their cottage. Continually along the roads one came on images and crosses. Sometimes also they would be found quite removed from the tracks or highways. Not far from one of the batteries, planted in an open position, stand two goodly trees, side by side, and between them is an image of the Christ. The soldiers of one of the regiments were billeted on the peasants in the village, and the relationship seemed to be very friendly. An aged relative of the proprietor of the Schloss, who had decided to stay on in the vicinity to try and keep an eye on things, and whose general attitude to the Russians was unfriendly, could not speak in any unfavourable way of the behaviour of the Russian soldiers towards the peasantry. His principal complaint bore on what he considered the indiscriminate cutting down of his cousin's timber to make camp fires.

Another of these quickly passing days proved to be the annual holy day and holiday of one of the regiments. It happened to coincide with the day on which in Russia apples and honey are taken to the churches to be blessed,—one of these primitive ceremonial festivals with a deep meaning, which also had the very salutary effect of preventing the people from eating apples before they were ripe. The day's proceedings began with divine service, which was held in a large field not far from the Castle. When we arrived, the soldiers were already drawn up by battalions on three sides of a square. In the centre were the colours, and two men standing by them. Close by was a table with the Evangile, crucifix and sacramental elements, and three priests in bright green robes with a heavy gold design worked on them. The officers of the Staff stood on a line continuous with one of the open sides of the human square. In a few minutes the General, accompanied by his Chief-of-Staff, walked on

to the field, and having greeted the colonel of the regiment, went round the different battalions, first greeting the officers, and then, in a loud voice, the men, to be met in each case by a punctuated roar of welcome from the ranks. He then made short speeches in praise of the Emperor, the Grand Duke Nicholas, and of the division. Each speech was rounded off with the appropriate selection by the band, which could hardly be heard above the sustained cheering. Finally, he walked down the line of the Staff, saluting and shaking hands, after which the Staff moved forward and the service began.

A choir of soldiers sustaining the recurring petition for divine mercy in deep-voiced melody, as one of the priests recited prayers; the reading of the Evangile and the presentation of the Book for the adoration of the worshippers; an address, simple and full of fine feeling and exhortation; the solemn prayer for their dead comrades, in which the whole regiment joined in spirit upon bended knee—each element progressively intensified the sense that these were men engaged in what was for them a holy war. Then the priest holds up the crucifix before them. The General steps forward, kisses it, and is sprinkled with holy water. He is followed by all his Staff, and finally the priest goes round the companies in turn, blessing and sprinkling them. Is there any wonder that at the subsequent march past the General and Staff, determination and resolve are expressed alike in the features and tramp of the advancing columns? A fine repast follows in a tent near the village, at which the officers of the Staff are the guests of the officers of the celebrating regiment. Each officer seems more popular than his fellows, if one may judge by the growing volume of repetition of their attractive toasting song, “*Mnogoye Lyeta*” (“Many Years”). And then they wander back to where the soldiers are giving themselves up to a simple meal, followed by sports. There is a relationship between officers and men in the Russian army that is absolutely



"IN THE CENTRE WERE THE COLOURS."



"ANOTHER GOT UP ON HIS SHOULDERS IN THE SADDLE."



unique. It is expressed in the term in which the officers address their men,—“Bratzi” (“brothers”). A soldier approaching an officer to ask him if he will take part in some contest along with them, will address him as “Dyadushka” (“little uncle”). There is a relationship of infinite good humour between officers and men that never fails. I have heard an officer storming at his orderly for depositing his kit in the wrong compartment in a train, then pass without any awareness of the abruptness of the transition to a careful enquiry as to how he had come to make the mistake, even suggesting that perhaps it was the conductor’s fault, and then end by calling him all the endearing terms that are part of ordinary Russian speech, and saying that he must be more careful another time. The Russian army is the greatest democracy in the world.

Many of the forms of sport were familiar, and all were attempted in uniform and top boots—high jump (at which one of the Cossacks excelled), long jump, greasy pole, tourneys with bran bags on a horizontal pole, sack race, wrestling from the back of another man, racing barefoot towards a scrambled pile of their boots and returning with the right ones, and walking blindfold up to earthenware pots stuck upon stakes, to demolish them with cudgels. An interesting test consisted in racing in companies of four with a little cart under an arch from which a bucket full of water was suspended, while spliced to it was a slab of wood pierced by a three-inch hole. One man stood erect in the cart, holding a rod two inches in thickness. He was rushed under the arch by his fellows, and if his aim was good, he could launch the rod through the hole in the slab in passing. If he missed the hole and struck the slab, the bucket was tilted forward as he was drawn onwards, with cooling results. For hours they played while the peasants from the village looked on. The colonel of the regiment actively participated in the sports ; he was what the Russians term a “sympathetic”

individual. A little boy, one of many serving as a volunteer, walks up to the General as the soldiers crowd round him watching the competitors at the long jump, and addressing him respectfully, says that he would like to jump. "Try it," says the General, patting him on the cheek, and motioning to the men to hold back till the youngster tries. The soldier that follows him has his spoon sticking out of the top of his high boot.

The Cossacks performed to the delight of the villagers and the pride of their comrades in arms. And they were not young men now,—reserves, over rather than under thirty. A sotnia of Cossacks (100 men) is divided into four *zvods*, and their first exhibitions were of the nature of deploying and attacking manoeuvres, in which all the commands were given in the form of signs from the leader's sabre, and repeated by the section commanders for their sections with their *nagaikas* (whips). Then one after the other they rushed past at the gallop, and vaulting right out of the saddle, with the spring off the ground on the one side cleared the horse's croup over to the other side, and so back again, from one side to the other, always off the ground. Or one would drop his cap, and the man following would reach down out of the saddle and pick it up, while another got up on his shoulders in the saddle, with feet in the air, and performed other different tricks all at the gallop. As they rode off the field, they sang.

Song plays a great part in the Russian soldier's life. In a base hospital where I stayed some days, several of them used to get together every evening in one of the corridors and sing the Vespers service through. The singers are often put together at the head of a column and lead the route march with methodical singing. One morning I stole out to listen to the Cossacks singing in the yard. Amongst other things they sang a Galician song which they had learned from the peasants in the village, plaintive beyond description. They had really

taken to this song, borrowed from the conquered,—for they do not easily hate—and seemed to love to sing it in all its exquisite sweetness and softness. They got some remarkable light and shade effects in songs of their own—“Kuku” (Cuckoo) and “Tchorny Ostrov” (The Black Island), as also Chmel, a dance-song with a whistling accompaniment. They do not easily hate, yet it was these very men who at one point in the Carpathian campaign, when maddened by being compelled to retreat owing to a marked inferiority in numbers, looked in the direction of the advancing enemy and said: “If *we* cannot kill you all, our sons will come and do so.”

Prisoners were always being brought in. Each little group was led up to the entrance of the Schloss and interrogated by the Chief of the Staff, after which they were sent on to Tarnopol. One day along with three Austrian prisoners a German deserter was led up. He was obviously Hebrew, and as he looked very frank and intelligent, I eagerly asked the General's permission to engage in conversation with him. It appeared that he had been in a small way of business in an Alsatian town, where he had acted as a censor of letters till he was called up with the Landwehr. He told me that he had a sister in America and another married to a Frenchman in Paris. Finding that his English was better than my German I spoke with him in that tongue after talking about America (although without any such intent) in a way that had led him to suppose that I was a United States citizen. He admitted that the French were doing well (August 20th) in Alsace and in Arras, but that in Argonne and Bois-le-Prêtre they were stationary. The Germans had become suspicious of Alsatian loyalty generally, and all Alsatian combatants had been sent to the Eastern front. I asked him as to the character of his regiment, and he said that it was composed of men drawn from various regiments, ranging in age from eighteen to forty-five, many of

whom had been previously wounded ; there was absolutely no camaraderie or esprit de corps. I sought to find out why he had deserted. He stated that he had become convinced that the Germans wanted to get rid of him because he was a Jew. I asked him how he came to form that impression. He said that he was an "under-officer," and that three out of four on his patrol were Alsatians. He had arrived at the front on Sunday (I was speaking with him on the Wednesday following), and had been detailed for duty that evening with his patrol at what was regarded as a dangerous point opposite the Russian lines. On Monday he should have been relieved, but was again detailed for the same duty. On Tuesday his captain told him that there was supposed to be a ford near that point, and that he must find out the breadth and depth of the river there that evening ; further, if his men were afraid to follow him, he must carry out the undertaking alone. This seemed rather a hard saying, and I asked if he really meant to say that a German officer had suggested that his men might refuse to obey an order. He shrugged his shoulders, and said, "That was the way in which he put it, making me feel that they wanted to get rid of me at any cost, so I just made my way across the river in the dark and into the Russian lines." I asked him how it was that Germany had come into conflict with Russia. He replied, "Russia was becoming too strong for us. In four years she would have begun on us, and so we decided to begin on her." I enquired about the present feeling in Germany over the war. His answer was : "In the beginning, the people were enthusiastically with the Government and wanted the war ; they want it now no longer ; to-day they feel only a great need of peace. But then to-day they have less power than they had at the beginning of the war. Every victory is used by the military party to put the screw more firmly on the people. The Social Democrats are called traitors because they say, 'Is it not enough ?'



" WITH THREE AUSTRIAN PRISONERS A GERMAN DESERTER.



COMPANY RETURNING FROM THE TRENCHES TO THE VILLAGE.



The only way in which the military party can be overcome is by Germany being beaten in the field,—then only can the people say, ‘You made the war, and we don’t want your Government any longer,’—but I do not see how it can be done.” I spoke with him about economic distress. He admitted that the prices of all articles had gone up on an average 50 per cent, “but our Government has planned so well in advance and organised on such a scale that there is really no vital shortage of anything, and only of cotton and copper to some extent. Copper in some considerable amount we can get from Sweden.” I asked him what the German people felt about the sinking of the *Lusitania*—if they were proud of the feat. He said, “The Germans are not a seafaring people like the English, and they cannot realise what the loss of a great steamer means.” “Oh,” I replied, “I am not thinking about the loss of the steamer; I am thinking about the loss of human life.” “Human lives count for nothing in Germany,” he answered. “But how about my fellow-countrymen who were on board?” I asked, in keeping with his view of my nationality. “Ah, they were warned,” he said; “they had no right to travel by that boat.” I asked if there was still the same intensity of hatred against the British nation. He said that the public use on poster or by rubber stamp on letters of the expression “Gott strafe England” had been forbidden by law; “what we say now is, ‘Gott schütze Deutschland.’” He blamed the Crown Prince for the war, and said the Emperor was against it. He added that the German army was being supplied with helmets of tin because of the scarcity of leather. The Kuban Cossack officer now stepped up and offered him cigarettes.

Almost every day one or two of the peasants in the locality were marched up to the front door by soldiers who had taken them for spies. They were subjected to a severe examination as to their movements and the meaning of questions they had asked by a young colonel on the Staff,

and more than once I have seen these men pleading as they believed for their lives, and so transformed into most eloquent and persuasive orators. The young colonel who had told me that the soldiers were afflicted with a sort of spy mania, and were inclined to arrest any peasant that asked them perfectly innocent questions, did not usually take long to make up his mind, and all the peasants that I saw brought in, went off with happy faces.

It is a day like most of the other days, sombre with rain. Towards evening the downpour ceases, but the atmosphere is saturated with a chill dampness which condenses into a thick mist. We start off towards six to make for the first line trenches at the narrowest part of the valley. We drive out of the village and then, after traversing familiar ground, passing along dales and skirting woods whose taller trees keep sentinel over the others, we go a long way over open ground, yet seeing nothing as fresh thick mists all the time come rolling up from the direction of the valley where the opposing forces lie. It seems a good night for a surprise attack,—and also for a successful defence. The track becomes thicker and thicker with slush, and the wheels of the victoria sink more deeply with the peculiar swishing sound of progress in water at every yard. Suddenly we turn sharply into a young wood and begin to descend very rapidly; the track narrows and the scrub closes in, till advance of that kind becomes impossible and we must walk. Once or twice we meet a cartload of peasants emerging abruptly out of the gloom on a track where vehicles were never meant to pass one another. There is as yet a deep silence disturbed only at one moment by the howl of a dog. After a time we get to the bottom of the descent, and as the mist has now begun to clear off, we can see that we are driving along a glade on the right of which is a forest of pine trees. Presently the sound

of voices and of laughter is audible, and lights begin to blaze among the trees. We continue to drive on and soon are abreast of great camp fires from which sparks fly up in showers ; around the fires stand or sit knots of men. We drive on down the line, and from one point come the sounds of merriment, and later from another in most exquisite harmony the rising and falling cadences of evensong, with the recurrent phrase, " Gospodi pomilui " (O Lord, have mercy). For a moment we wait at the regimental headquarters ; under a large oak stand a couch, a plain table with two candles, and several chairs. Each of the officers brings a small contribution to the lightest of five-minute repasts, one of them producing his last box of chocolates—of English make. Then after a little conversation we leave these resting battalions and start off with the colonel for the first line. The road is wretched—a side track. We reach a point after which the low rumble of guns is heard. The mist comes on again, and out of it step companies making the night shift, or the field kitchens returning after supplying the evening meal, or the searchlight going to the lines. Sometimes stray individuals loom up and pass on. But whoever passes is challenged by the colonel and compelled to give an account of himself. " Dirje na prava " (" Take to the right ") shouts the soldier driver to some peasants with telyegas, moving them over to the wrong side of the track which descends suddenly at that point to a lower level. But even such choice by compulsion of the best side fails to provide any going at all, for we are continually driving through the thickest mud or water, and so we get out and grope along in the dark. A soldier leads the way, then the General, then another soldier, then the colonel and others follow.

It was so dark that the man immediately in front was alone visible. We had no light from above or from below : to pick one's steps was impossible. It seemed as if we were going down an open unwooded valley leading, as

we learned, again into the valley of the Zlotaya Lipa. The sides of the entering valley rose some hundreds of feet in height, and we followed it certainly for more than a mile. And all the time the sound of firing became clearer and more clear, until in the end you could distinguish the discharge of a rifle, the swish of the bullet, and the smack on some discovered target, or a sound like a continuous Chinese cracker—maxim guns spitting out death on the other side of the hill to the right. The situation thus conveyed through the ear alone becomes dimly illuminated as flares go up beyond the rising ground which stands silhouetted on either side. It is a signal for an intensification of firing which is sustained and then as suddenly ceases, to be followed by wild cheering. Then there is a momentous silence, and we resume our way in the dark.

The road seems to improve and we enter a hamlet. The cottages with their white walls stand up ghostlike in the chill night : not a light is visible, not a sound can be heard. It is as if deserted. The soldier who is leading stops and with his hand indicates holes to be avoided, made that day in the road by shells. And now the rattle of musketry on the left, which has been unceasing in frequency, seems unpleasantly near. We are evidently close to the point where our tributary valley finally falls into the main valley. Perhaps it is just because each army is holding either side of a deep and narrow valley that every sound seems to awaken a sort of echo. Ahead rise three enormous vaulted greyish walls, perhaps of some factory near the hamlet, but as we approach nearer the grey walls literally vanish into space, and the reality is seen to be the dark arches of a railway viaduct crossing the debouching valley and the road in front of us. We turn abruptly to the right at the end of the hamlet and proceed very cautiously, admirably protected by the railway embankment on our left between us and the direction of the enemy. We come to a field telephone,

where the colonel gets a report of the activity over the hill on our right. All this time the embankment has been becoming relatively lower as we rise up the side of the entrant valley. Then a point is reached where each of us climbs up in turn, slips across the railway and descends on the other side in to the entrance of the communication trench. In this particular way the trench can only be reached at night.

The communication trench pursues a very devious course ; it is exceedingly narrow and fully eight feet deep at parts, for it descends the sides of the valley of the Zlotaya Lipa, and leads into a line of trenches that follows the river closely for some five versts.

So far as one could judge in the darkness, this line of trenches was very strongly made. It took the form of a linear series of well-protected recesses, loop-holed and with a straw-covered bench-like support, cut out in the clay, on which a man could lie out at length or two of them kneel as they handled their rifles. These were connected by the passage way provided with metal head-cover against shrapnel and bombs. In each loop-hole rested a rifle. In the darkness it was difficult to make out anything, and possibly the sentries standing at intervals on the ground behind the trenches and overlooking them, would not stand out so sharply against the side of the valley as they did looking up at them from the depths of the trench. In each of the recesses men stood at attention, ghostlike and motionless. A few days before, I had passed along the narrow passages of the Catacombs of St. Anthony in Kiev. There in the niches lay the dead who are alive. Here in the recesses stood as motionless the living who were prepared to die. A certain proportion of the troops were down under cover by the river's side, less than a hundred yards in front, to prepare against a surprise attack. The mist came up once again, and the cannonade became more and more desultory for a while ; then as suddenly it livened up

again for no reason that we could discern, unless it were simply to worry the defence. And so we stayed and watched and listened, until some faint streaks in the east betokened the return of another day, and we moved off ere it became too dangerous to do so by the route by which we came.

## **THEME V**

**THE FUTURE OF POLAND**



## THEME V

### THE FUTURE OF POLAND

THE fact that both the Russian and the German Emperors have held out hopes for a united Poland suggests that even now, within certain limits, the consideration of the future of that country is a subject of practicable interest, whatever the relative value that we may be inclined to attach to the manifestoes in question. From the record of her history, at once so romantic and so tragic, features stand out that, in the degree in which the causes producing them are still operative, will be to a large degree determinative of that future. In the first place, the earliest stages of Russian and of Polish history show no fundamental antagonism in religious, political, or economic outlook and organisation, so far as these were then developed. There are, therefore, no inherent and ultimately irreducible points of difference between these two peoples that must permanently hinder a mutual understanding between them. The situation is quite otherwise as between Germany and Poland. In the second place, time and again, the chance of national salvation which was almost won by the heroism of the sword was sacrificed through the inability of the Poles to hold together as a united people. Whether these disruptive tendencies, and the internal disloyalties that have played havoc with the fortunes of the country in the past, will be transcended hereafter in the life of a people who have passed through an agony which exceeds that of Belgium, is a consideration of momentous character so far as the future of Poland is concerned.

In view of the first of these two features, which on *à priori* grounds at any rate indicates the direction in which the happier outlook for Poland may be sought, it is important to ascertain the opinion of representative Poles who are Russian subjects. Previous to the meeting of the Duma in August of 1915, an important conference was held under the presidency of the Prime Minister between six Russian and as many Polish representatives, in order to try and reach some understanding as to the lines along which the promised measure of self-government should be given to Poland. The following paragraphs represent the Polish point of view as outlined in conversation to the writer by two of these representatives. The original statement was under the circumstances sketchy, though developmentally conceived : any failure in presentation is due to the transcriber.

“Partitioning of Poland began as long ago as the twelfth century. The first important feature, however, is the alliance of a reunited Poland with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the fourteenth century to fight the Prussians who were creeping round on the north and east, and exercising economic and other pressure on these States. There was a voluntary union of these two States for two centuries : then they became one State, so far as governmental relations are concerned. As the Poles were the more cultured of the two peoples—for many of their nobility had been educated in the French and Italian Universities, while the Lithuanian nobility was uneducated, indeed somewhat barbarous in comparison,—the nobility of Lithuania gradually became Polish. The mass of the people remained Lithuanians (White and Little Russian). Consequent on this union, two policies began to be developed on the part of Poland. One was concerned with the West, and took the form of a tendency towards intervention in Bohemia and Austria. The Lithuanian rulers, on the other hand, had their own political views, and latterly their troubles in the East

with the Tatars. These two movements were parallel and roughly contemporaneous. But when Bohemia and the adjacent parts came more under the German influence and the Lithuanian nobility became more powerful, Polish policy turned towards the East: the Poles thought of themselves as an outpost of Western civilisation fighting the East. Now all these States reared on the borders of the Western world, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, etc., had faults in their constitution. The soil of these countries was not yet prepared for high ideas: they each lost their independence. The partition of Poland took place in the end of the eighteenth century. In that partition Russia did not take any purely Polish States. Poland proper was divided between Austria and Germany. Only after the Napoleonic Wars, by the Congress of Vienna, was the rest of Poland added to Russia with its own constitution, diet, army, etc. Those Lithuanian provinces which went under Russian rule were considered Polish for the reason that any dominating element in the country was Polish.

“Meanwhile an evolution was going on in Central and Eastern Europe; it took the form of the resurrection of small nationalities. The Czech nationality had practically disappeared in the seventeenth century: it was annihilated in the Thirty Years’ War, and Bohemia became a German province. The feeling of nationality was submerged. After the French Revolution there came a democratisation of culture. The spread of culture introduced the national sentiment among the masses. So from among the mass of the peasants arose a new people who refused to accept the German language: ‘We are Czechs by nationality,’ they said. The rebirth of the nation is a remarkable episode. It is the fact that fifty intelligent Czechs founded the new Czechish movement and nationality: all the others were simple peasants. These fifty were assembled together in a single room in a house at a meeting which is now historic, and at which

they came to the resolution to revive their nationality : so that if you had bombed that house you might have extinguished a people. That beginning had important results, and a strong national sentiment arose among the younger people. About seven millions, the Czechs have a well-developed national feeling : they are one of the most energetic nationalities in commerce, industry, and especially banking. In Croatia, Bulgaria, and even in Poland, branches of the Czech banks may be found everywhere. They are one of the most enterprising of nationalities, like the Slavons, Serbians, and Bulgarians. That kind of movement began late in the territory of ancient Poland. It appeared in Ruthenia : it was protected by the Austrian Government in order to maintain the Austrian influence. A similar movement arose also in Lithuania. The development of national feeling among the masses of the people produces this outstanding result that they lose the nationality of the dominant classes amongst them, and assume again their own nationality. The country where that movement succeeds most takes on more and more the character given by the masses of the population. In Lithuania and Ruthenia, however, the nobility remained Polish.

“ But between Russia and Poland not only is there the language frontier, but there is also ‘ the frontier of faith.’ Poland is Roman Catholic and Russia is Greek Church. There are certain recognised differences in doctrine—not very great—between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant. But there is also the difference of civilisation between the Greek and the Roman Catholic Churches. The Roman and the Byzantine worlds were different in their conceptions of the family, of life—of everything. The frontier of religion is much more important than the frontier of language. A country where the mass of the population is Roman Catholic will never become Russian. All Lithuania is Roman Catholic ; a large part of White Russia is Roman Catholic also. They are the descendants

of Lithuanian and Polish colonists converted from the Greek Church. All this part that is Roman Catholic is not Russian because the Polish faith is the Catholic faith. When a Roman Catholic living on the borders of Poland gets educated he becomes a Pole and not a Russian. 'I am of Catholic nationality,' 'I am of Polish religion,' he will say, when you ask him what he is, without any intention of referring to religion. For them to be a Pole and to be a Roman Catholic are identical. What is the position between Poland and Russia in the East? I cannot answer. The frontier will be decided by future history. It is undecided from the historical point of view. From the political point of view we say, 'Polish country is that country where the Polish-speaking element is predominant.' The Russians say that Lithuania is Russian, but that is nonsense from the ethnographical and religious points of view. This, then, is the compromise which we wish to make with Russia, Let that be Polish country where the Polish-speaking people is predominant. That is accepted so far as the Eastern frontier is concerned.

"The mouth of the Vistula on the Baltic is Polish country and must be Polish. It is Polish ethnographically and economically, because Dantzic is the natural harbour of Poland, and commercially Poland must have an exit to the sea. And strategically she must have it, because the long German arm in East Prussia will otherwise continually threaten Poland. There will always be an open mouth, so to speak, whose jaws are East Prussia and Silesia, ready to swallow Poland. In order to prevent our being so swallowed we must cut something away from Germany. To save the existence of Poland we must destroy the existence of some Germans in the East. There can be no compromise between the Poles and the Germans. With Russia there is a possibility of compromise on ethnographical grounds, and on moral principles; but with Germany there is no possible compromise, because

they say, 'We will be good and humane to you if you become Germans.' In that way our programme is Poland with its ethnographical frontier in the East, and including some German districts in the North and West. Many of the German-speaking people in East Prussia had Polish fathers: they will quickly remember that they were Poles. So we hope that the ethnographical map will show many more Polish people in East Prussia than it does at present. Without any use of violence we anticipate that these people will remember that their fathers spoke Polish. We are also a fertile race, and will soon make up any deficiency of numbers in that particular area. In all there are already 22 million Poles. Dantzic is an almost purely German town just now, with a population of 150,000: when it belongs to Poland, within fifteen years it will have 500,000 inhabitants, and be one of the richest towns on the Baltic, and Polish mainly in its population. We shall treat the Germans well. Nobody is interested to keep East Prussia for Germany: let it be Polish. We want the Duchy (or Provinz) of Posen—Posen of Germany: it must be given to Poland, as also Upper Silesia and Western Prussia (West Preussen).

"Of East Prussia a part—the more easterly—should be Russia's, and a part ours. Our political interests are not confined, however, to Poland, because we are much interested in the future position and faith of the Czechs (Bohemia). If Bohemia is eaten up by Germany, the danger for Poland becomes double. The future of the Czechs is really as important to us as it is to Bohemia. So we must enquire what the faith of Bohemia will be. We say her future must be guaranteed. To give her to Germany would be a catastrophe for Poland.

"With regard to the Jews in Poland: I am not anti-Semitic personally, but cannot help recognising the antagonism against the Jews. In Poland the Jews pretend to be a nation by themselves: they have a different religion and also a different language. Their language is

a Swabian dialect of German, in which there are many Hebrew, Polish, and Russian words. They speak of 'Our Yiddish literature, Press, theatres.' They say, 'We want to have national rights in Poland; we want Yiddish schools; we want Yiddish spoken in the courts,' and so on. Now the Jews form 15 per cent of the population in Russian Poland, in Prussian Poland under 1 per cent, in Austrian Poland about 7 per cent. If, then, the people who represent in the whole of Poland some 2,300,000 souls say, 'We are a different nationality, and we wish to have the Polish country as Jewish as it is Polish—we are partners in the possession of this country,' then we Poles find that we do not own our own country. Everywhere we seem to have a partner—Germans, Russians, Jews, etc.; all are partners. So we say to the Jew, 'You are either a Pole or a foreigner, and as a foreigner we will fight you.' When the Czechs fought the Germans they employed a method of economic boycott. The saying in Prussian Poland is that the Poles employed the economic boycott. When the Jews declared themselves to be an independent nationality, with a view to becoming partners in the country, it was natural that a national struggle should take place, and it took the usual form of an economic boycott. It was a national struggle, not simply an economic boycott. Chronologically the economic boycott was first employed by the Jews against the Poles, and then the Poles took it up against the Jews, with better results. In 1906–1907 it was employed by the Jews against the Poles. The Polish surgeons, for example, lost all their Jewish patients in a few months. The Poles started their struggle in 1911: we took a lesson from the Jews, and beat them at their own game.

"The greatest danger for Poland's national existence is the Jew. They speak a German dialect which goes over very easily into pure German. They are favourably disposed to Germany: they are channels whereby German influence flows into the country: they become German

spies and agents. Does not the toleration of such an element become a national crime? It is suicide: we must do something to eliminate them from the country, and let those who remain come under some influence which will make them more Polish.

“Anti-Jewish laws do not go with the principle of freedom. We have no wish for exceptional laws. We consider that in all countries all citizens should have equal rights. If *we* were a free country in which *we* enjoyed full freedom, we should not have anti-Jewish laws. We should have full liberty to do anything and everything, and have no desire for exceptional laws. But we live under special anti-Polish laws in Germany and Russia: we are very limited in our rights of citizens, and in Russia there are very severe anti-Semitic laws.<sup>1</sup>

“What would be the conditions of life in Russian Poland when, being limited in our own Polish rights and having in Russia strong anti-Semitic laws, we fought for freedom for the Jews, for their full rights! In that case they become privileged in relation to us. Poland would become a paradise for Russian Jews, and they would all flock to us. There are exceptional laws against Poles in Poland and against Jews in Russia: there must logically be exceptional laws against the Jews in Poland. The schools in Poland must be Polish, and Russians can have their schools if they wish. But the Jews must be under Polish influence.

“We want, then, a common Emperor, a common imperial parliament, our own parliament for our own internal affairs, a common foreign policy, army and navy, imperial finance, customs, coinage, and stamps: but the administration of the Polish post offices and telegraph must be by ourselves. The organisation by Russia is unsatisfactory to the Poles: it is not on a sufficiently high standard for our needs. We want our Lord-Lieu-

<sup>1</sup> These have been recently modified for the period of the war, at any rate.

tenant nominated by the Emperor and responsible to him. We want our own Diet, which will make laws to be sanctioned only by the Emperor. The administration of all justice we want in our own hands. If for that degree of autonomy the Russians demand that there shall be a commercial frontier between Poland and Russia, then we agree.

“ Our problem is closely related to the whole problem of South-East Europe. How far is Britain really interested in and alive to it ? South-Eastern Europe is an area of small nationalities, in many cases peoples of a small degree of culture, so that they cannot compromise ; they do not understand the word. Is not the degree in which you are willing to compromise an indication of the grade of your culture ? All these nations are ambitious : they are all of them fighting races. They cannot reconcile their ambitions. From the *Ægean* to the Baltic there are 100,000,000 people of eight or nine nationalities, speaking eight or nine different languages—Poles, Serbians, Czechs, Magyars, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Croatians, Slavonians. How are we to organise this world ? Is there one brain that understands the question and can organise it ? If not, the present, so far as we can see, is only the beginning of wars in that region for over fifty years. You cannot give the control of these countries to Germany : it makes her too strong. Russia has enough to do to control her own Empire, and in any case the Poles, Czechs, and Magyars are more cultured than the Russians. Indeed the Russo-Polish question would lose nine-tenths of its difficulties if the Russian people were of equal culture with the Poles.”

To much of the above, of course, it could not be expected that informed Russian opinion would give a whole-hearted assent. It may be true to say that the average Pole is a more cultured individual than the average Russian peasant, but it is not a difference that is determinative amongst the classes that will have the settle-

ment of the relations between these peoples ultimately in their hands. Again, the appeal to history is bound to be rather fatuous so far as the territories in dispute between Russia and Poland are concerned. White Russia and Lithuania practically changed hands almost every century. Russian and Pole alike when dealing with these lands are naturally tempted to take the period of history that suits them best, so that on historical grounds both parties can be right. From the historical point of view nothing can be strictly decided seeing the territories have changed hands so often. The Poles once had Kiev and Smolensk, yet their most extreme advocates do not suggest that these parts should be included in a reconstructed Poland. In the beginning of the nineteenth century Polish was generally spoken in Kiev except amongst the people : now of course all classes speak Russian. The history even of East Prussia shows that it was a Polish province, which came to be held by the Teutonic knights who were vassals to the King of Poland. Brandenburg and the Elbe country were also once upon a time Slav lands, but no Slav makes pretence to them now. South-East Prussia is thoroughly Prussianised ; it is really German. The Germans can well be held to have a claim to it.

A much more practical consideration is that as between Russia and Poland, the Polish question has never been so well placed as now during the last three centuries. Promises made after the Russo-Japanese War were not kept, and nothing was done. It has been urged that if, after the proclamation issued under the authority of the Grand Duke Nicholas (which was not, however, drawn up by him) the Russian Government had given definite concessions—had given autonomy even during the war—things would have gone very well, and the Poles would ultimately have been satisfied with something less. Nothing was done, however ; on the contrary, the local authorities in some instances are said not to have acted

on the proclamation, and some of the Poles tended to become a little suspicious. Yet on the whole to-day the Russian Poles are on the side of Russia : nine-tenths of them are Russians in faith and hope. There is a positive enthusiasm in the Russian army for the Poles. The promises made—and none was more definite than that conveyed in the speech of the Prime Minister to the Duma on August 1st, 1915, when he said, “ His Majesty the Emperor has deigned to authorise me to announce to you, gentlemen of the Duma, that His Majesty has commanded the Council of Ministers to draft a Bill to confer upon Poland after the war the right of free organisation of her national, cultural, and economic life on principles of autonomy, under the autocratic sceptre of the Russian rulers, and with the retention of a single Imperial Authority ”—are regarded as a debt of honour of the whole country even more than of the Government. As one distinguished publicist put it to me, “ There would be a revolution in Russia if she did not keep her word to Poland.”

The whole question is peculiarly difficult, and is complicated more than ever as the result of the most recent turn of events. For at the beginning of the war a conference of Polish representatives was held to discuss the future of their country. This was attended by Poles from Berlin who stoutly insisted that Germany would win the war. Even the Prussian Poles dislike Germany, and were sympathetic with Russia in spite of their feeling that Germany would win. At present the situation is more serious because since the evacuation of Poland by the Russians the German Poles may tend to say, “ We told you so,” and feel that they are in a worse plight now than ever. Nobody, however, knows better than the Germans that their occupation of Poland is temporary—it comes out even in their local orders,—and we return in conclusion to reconsider moderate Russian opinion with regard to the future of that country.

It may, perhaps, be formulated thus : “ The problem is difficult, but it can be solved if faced by men starting from two premises—the needs of imperial Russia and the individuality of Poland. Further, certain guiding principles must be observed all the way through.

“(1) The partition of Poland was a political crime. It was the work of the bureaucracy, not of the Russian people. Now that Poland has developed, we recognise the duty of giving her what she asks in the way of self-government, and rights of language and religion. Considering Poland as a cultural unity which cannot be destroyed, we must reconstruct her as a semi-independent State in full alliance with Russia.

“(2) All except what is regarded as a need of the Empire is to be considered as a right of the Poles. Restrictions, that is to say, shall only arise in connection with questions concerning the whole Empire—diplomacy, army, fortresses, trunk railways, and finance.

“(3) Let us unify and federate so far as that is reasonably possible. A proverb indeed says that ‘ the Poles are always looking to the forest,’—like wolves they cannot be tamed. That certainly was the old idea of them, expressed in the view that they would never give up their idea of the old Polish kingdom, from sea to sea—from Mitau and Wilna (Lithuania), Vitebsk (White Russia) to Podolsk and Kiev. But history has decided in these matters for Russia as against Poland. When the Poles fought against the Russian Tzars they were victorious, but when they fought against the Russian people and their religion they were defeated. Poland then should be a State apart, yet reunited indissolubly to Russia. Psychological reasons and considerations enter into the necessity for an independent kingdom, but economic and financial questions tend

towards her having a large measure of autonomy rather than being apart. From the economic point of view it would be more useful to Russia to constitute Poland an independent kingdom. If the Poles are constituted as an independent kingdom, the industrial frontier is then between Poland and Russia, and all the Russian industries must be protected. If Poland is a State of Russia there will be no frontier, no customs : so for Russian industry it would be better to have Polish industry apart. If after the war armies are still kept up, Russia will be obliged to have a large one at the frontier. If it is kept at the German frontier all the profits from the upkeep of that army will go to the Poles. If Poland is a State apart, all the money spent in this way (in provisioning, etc.) will remain amongst the Russian population. But the question of international politics is very difficult. If Poland is to be a buffer State, and it is possible to unite the Prussian part, that will be a good thing, but on the other hand the bulk of the population there is German, so that it is hardly just to make Poland extend to the Baltic.

“ (4) We must begin to decentralise. Let us begin the experiment with Poland, for she is an individuality, and we shall learn better how to deal with regions like Siberia. There can be no practical work in a Petrograd Duma composed of representatives of these and all the other Russian peoples : it would be too large. We must then have an Imperial Duma, and local Dumas with delegations from the latter to the former.

“ (5) Above all, and finally, this is a Russo-Polish, and not an international, question.”



# INTERLUDE

## GREAT ELMS



## INTERLUDE

### GREAT ELMS

**I**T lies many versts away from the railroad, snuggling amongst the noble old trees that give it name. The track leads out through the village which happens to be nearer the railway than is often the case in Russia, and swings easily at first over a sweeping plain, partly cultivated, but dotted with numerous "erratics," indicative of some glacial period in the past. Mujiks meet us and doff their caps in passing. Is it because they have lived for centuries on these far-horized lands, overarched by an even greater expanse of sky, that there exists such a natural sense of the Infinite in the Russian peasant mind? The unbroken surface begins to lose its smoothness in tree-clad puckerings and risings. The landscape entirely changes, and closes in upon us. Half-hidden from the high road in a grove, the outskirts of which are in part delimited by a white stone wall, stands a stately mansion : it is Great Elms.

Into its construction has entered in a peculiar degree the spacious sympathetic mind of the diplomatist whose home it is. Egyptian, Old Russian, and Roman rooms are laid out and decorated in the atmosphere and setting of these civilisations. But better far than to speak about the prejudices of the past or discuss the politics of the present, was to hear him talk about his greatest friend, the musician.

From the columned verandah which forms in part the back aspect of the house, a broad straight path leads down through the elms, and ends abruptly on a terrace.

Beyond lies a small lake, and in the distance, across some open land, rise woods of pine and birch, whose secret glades and springs and other sylvan charms are made discoverable by well-kept paths that penetrate to their very heart. It was there that he walked and spoke of Skryabin. His difficulty was in explaining to himself why it was that Skryabin, a man in the full glow of perfect vigour, had died so suddenly at the early age of forty-three, and the halting answer came suffused with that haunting mysticism that is the native expression of the Russian mind. "Skryabin, you must know, was developing a Mystery, the 'Preliminary Action' to which he had just finished when he died. The latter is a poem as profound as Faust, which will be edited and published in the course of this winter. The music for it was only in his mind. Not more than three people have heard it, and it is now lost except for a few fragments that he had set down on paper. About the subject of the Mystery he spoke only two or three times. In form it was to have been a religious musical liturgy, in which all the arts were to be combined. There were to be two thousand executants, but no spectators; every participant was to have been trained into it, with his special part. A person lacking in spiritual comprehension would not have been allowed to assist. Imagine a kind of church in which not only the priest has his distinctive rôle, but every individual in the congregation—that is what it would have been like. Of the central idea of the Mystery he only spoke with the same three friends. It was not altogether clear and concrete in his own mind, and I can say no more than that it dealt with a new conception of life after death. For people who are not prepared to take his 'Prometheus' as a spiritual work, all this of course must seem like some ill-begotten dream."

We had come to the edge of the wood, and found ourselves immediately on the lands of a village commune, bearing grain that rose in places above our heads. A

track through it led to the village lying sheltered in a hollow. Through the green grain some distance ahead of us moved a single figure, his bright red rubashka blazing in the sun, like a human poppy waving across a field of corn. In the village street were many women wearing those amazing combinations of colour in kerchief, skirt, and bodice that would be unimaginable in this country, but which blend in some mysterious manner in that rich sunlight. One has often wondered whence the Russian people have got their highly developed sense of colour till one saw again the deeply tinted sunsets, and realised that a responsive people who had lived with them for centuries could not have failed to be influenced thereby in their racial and individual innermost being. Numbers of young men standing about the village showed that Russia was still far from the end of her resources of manhood. Yet many had gone off to the war, and it was not seldom that a wounded soldier found his way up to Great Elms to thank the lady of the house in person for packages of comforts that he and his fellows from that district had received from her in Poland and elsewhere.

We were back in the woods again before my friend resumed his discourse upon Skryabin. "Geniuses are given to man to help him to rise ; but they need our support. If we do not give this to them, they pass away. Skryabin was the beautiful flower to have been fully opened if we had proved to be true Crusaders, but when we began to prove traitors to the new ideology with which we entered upon the war, he was taken away. Can you realise what must have been the will-effort towards righteousness on our part necessary to have kept such a man amongst us ? The same thing can be either medicine or poison to a man at different stages of his life ; so is it with mystical truth. For its apprehension a certain state of psychical ripeness and splendour is necessary. We must be ripe for it, otherwise it would be a poison to us. The conduct of the war, even on the part of the

Allies, shows that man was not yet ripe. Russia was unable to purify herself of all dishonesty. Skryabin's revelation would have been poison to us just now ; so he was taken away. Someone else will be given to us when we are ready, but not, I think, in our generation. Our generation will die without passing into the new and further phase of domination of the moral over the purely natural, in which we should have been able to accept what Skryabin would have given us. Latterly he became the simplest of men in his natural habits and tastes, as if conscious that he was merely a medium. 'In vain, O Author, you suppose you are the author of your productions. Eternally their truths have been around us, and you are only the instrument by which they passed into our understanding.' ”<sup>1</sup>

We had come back to the house, and he left me alone to ponder a problem of the ages, not altogether convinced even by the full development of his argument. Without the requisite sensitivity there can of course be no vision, but in what degree does temperament help to determine the final interpretation ? That evening from a sheltered vantage on the roof, which gave a wide outlook on the only side that was open, a struggle seemed in process between a gigantic thundercloud rolling up from the West and the setting sun. Yet as the envelopment of the sun by the storm-cloud was only seeming, and one's belief in the soundness and solvency of Nature begat faith in the renewed triumph of light, so it seemed credible that the present victory of evil was not absolute, and that the goodness in the world would be afresh revealed to men.

<sup>1</sup> Alexei Tolstoi.

## **THEME VI**

### **RELIGION IN RUSSIA TO-DAY**



## THEME VI

### RELIGION IN RUSSIA TO-DAY

**T**HE Oriental Orthodox Church—for the designation “Greek Church” is really a misnomer—has a history which perhaps means more to it in its actual consciousness of to-day, and particularly to that branch known as the Russian Church, than is the case with any other branch of Christendom. To Jerusalem, the cradle of Christianity, there succeeded in ecclesiastical importance Constantinople, the centre from which Northern Europe was evangelised. When Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453, the deposit of the Oriental Orthodox Church was committed to a country that had been Christian since the tenth century, where it has since been preserved with an affection and in a purity that are both vivid elements in the modern Russian religious consciousness. Perhaps it is in the Oriental Orthodox Church that we can see the best contemporaneous representative of the Early Christian Church of the first three centuries. At any rate, it has conserved without alteration the teaching of the Apostles and the decrees of the Seven Ecumenical Councils.

The greatest event in the history of this Oriental Orthodox Church was the schism with Rome under the Patriarch Photius in the ninth century. Hereby, in the thought of the cultured Orthodox Russian, it was saved from the spiritual despotism and the dogmatic and disciplinary innovations of its rival, from those alterations of doctrine and waywardness in morals that produced the fruitful protest of the sixteenth century, from celibacy

of the priesthood with its attendant evils, from the sacrilegious commerce in indulgences, from the horrors of an Inquisition, from the baneful might of excommunication. The Oriental Orthodox Church has never monopolised the Holy Scriptures for its profit, nor proclaimed that to it alone belonged the right to present them to the faith of its people. It places their authority above all else ; it calls upon its members to find within those pages their daily food and sustenance. "To be the pure reflection of the Word of God," says Boissard, attempting to show the standpoint of the Russian Church, "that is for every church to participate in its infallibility."<sup>1</sup> Broken up to-day into more than a dozen different bodies and transformed in a certain measure, it still stands firmly upon its ancient foundations, and will stand. To traverse afresh the course of the ages, fixing our attentive gaze upon ancient Kiev, mother of all the towns of Russia, or on the Holy City of Moscow, the principal centre of orthodoxy ; to contemplate with mingled reverence and admiration the noble traits of pastors such as Cyril, Nikon, Philip Martyr, Hermogenes, and Philaret, or of pious ascetics such as were Anthony, Theodosius, Sergius, and Sozimus, or of princes like Vladimir Monomachus, Alexander Nevsky, and Michael Romanov ; or yet of countless martyrs and confessors, both men and women, of every age and condition—to do all this provides not merely an entrancing story, but is necessary to the complete understanding of what one sees in the Russian Church of to-day. But that, after all, the actual expression of the religious consciousness is the principal thing to understand ; for religious Russia, direct though her contact be with the past, and proud of it as she always will be, does not altogether live there, as so many seem to think. "There is no book on the Russian Church," wrote one of her most distinguished sons to me in answer to an enquiry ; "there is no book on the Russian Church,

<sup>1</sup> L. Boissard, "L'Eglise de Russie," Tome I, p. 10.

because our Church cannot be discussed in a book. Better than from any book will you understand it if you go to such a religious centre as the Troitzko-Sergievskaia Lavra (a famous pilgrim-frequented monastery near Moscow) or the Kiev Petcherskaya (the oldest and most highly revered monastery in Russia) and others, especially on the great festivals, or even if you go to our churches, particularly in Lent."

In endeavouring to bring out that which the Russian Church means to the best of her people and what they hope for from her, I do not know that it is possible to do better than attempt to reproduce parts of conversations to which I certainly owe much. The speaker is now an old man, and a layman holding high office in connection with the Holy Synod. He began by correcting wrong impressions. "You must know," he said, "that the Emperor is the protector, but not the head, of the Russian Greek Church. The head of the Church is our Lord." In his development of this point I came to see that the views of the Oriental Orthodox Church and of the United Free Church of Scotland were practically one, and that the opinion ordinarily held in this country of the relation of the Emperor to the Russian Church would be blasphemy to the true orthodox believer. "That is the great distinction between us and the Romans," continued my friend. "There is no necessity to have a head of the Church upon earth when we have such a Head in heaven. Again, the Greek Church is the dominating Church, but it is not the State Church. We do not use the term 'State Church,' because we do not have the thing. We speak about the Gospodstvuyushchaya Tserkov—the 'dominating,' the predominant Church. But in that description there is nothing juridical, simply a statement of fact."

Of these talks, of which I had two or three, what lingers chiefly in my memory were animated passages in which he strove to show what in great measure we had lost.

And it is just here that the Russian Church has most to teach us, owing to the deep mysticism of her most devoted sons, and the ingrained certainty in practically every Russian mind that there is a great deal more in the world than shall ever be compassed by measuring-rod or test-tube, the unremitting sureness that we are wrapped about by a spiritual world which is the real world. "Ah, the Communion of Saints," said my friend; "how real and precious that is to us, to-day more than ever! I think that you have just a little lost the sense of it in Protestantism, and that the spiritual world perhaps seems more remote to you than it is to us. The living and most patent example and proof of the vitality amongst us of this feeling of the nearness of the spiritual world are the periodical beatification and canonisation of new saints." On enquiry as to who were the most remarkable of those to whom the hearts of believers had thus gone out, the following names were given amongst others: St. Mitrophan of Voronesh, who lived under Peter the Great and was canonised in the reign of Nicholas I in the fifth decade of last century; St. Tikhon of Zadonsk in the province of Voronesh, who lived under Catherine in the second half of the eighteenth century, and was canonised fifty years ago; and more recently, during the present Emperor's reign in 1903, St. Seraphim of Sarov, in the Government of Tamboff (died 1833), who is said to have foretold the present war. Others include St. Joasaph of Byelgorod (died 1754), who was canonised in 1911; St. Peterim, a monk who died 100 years ago; and St. Hermogenes, Patriarch of Moscow, who was martyred by the Poles in the Tchudov monastery in 1612; his canonisation took place in 1913.

It is probable that to many Western minds all this represents but so much superstition. Such a hasty judgment would be of the same qualitative value as superstition. It was impossible not to proceed farther in enquiry as to process. "The rules," continued my in-

formant, "under which such canonisations take place are severe. A register is made of any cures and miracles ; they are written down and kept by the local clergy. If these occur in striking numbers, or in an unusual degree, the local clergy apply to the Holy Synod for canonisation. But parallel to this outward working of miracles an inward movement is going on. People who hold these saints in veneration go to their tombs and pray for the soul of the saint, asking our Lord that his soul should be blessed. This is done during many years : the believers continue to hold these requiems (*panichida*). The fact that so many come and do this through long years assures the higher clergy of the veneration in which the man is held. These two circumstances eventually determine the Holy Synod to make a strict examination on their own account. A commission is then appointed, whose business is to make thorough investigation, and ascertain that there is nothing in the way of fraud. An *advocatus diaboli* is given the fullest rein, and only after the most critical investigation and full discussion is the decision made. Thus we ensure that there is no fabrication of saints. It is quite possible that one day Father John of Kronstadt will be canonised : men and women never cease to pray at his tomb." So he spoke. I do not know if St. Mitrophane actually did this or that, or whether any proportion of the stories of St. Seraphim are true, but I do know that in the Russia of to-day there is a great belief that God is working in the world both through His servants who still remain and through those whom He has taken to Himself. There is an attitude of expectancy, a sense of wonder, in the Russian mind. He believes in God with a working belief, and looks for signs of His activity in the world : and just as to the expectant shepherds watching by their flocks angels appeared, so to the humble believing Russian peasant come great certainties of God. We do not expect, and so we do not receive. We are too sure that we know exactly what kind of a world it is in which we

find ourselves, and vision dies amongst us. It is just here that our Ally has a message and a mission to the world.

Further, they realise how close they are to Protestant Britain, even with that long history of separation. "Have you not often considered," continued my friend, "that what is common to all forms of the Christian faith is ninety-nine per cent, and what is different is but one per cent? Is it not?"—and here he leaned forward earnestly—"you will excuse me, but I feel it so—is it not the hand of the Devil himself that makes trifles appear in our eyes as important matters, and puts serious differences between us and Rome, when the importance of union is so much greater than any or all of our differences? We understand the Protestant opposition to Rome: Rome has deserved it. We only feel our regret that Protestants as a whole in the time of Hus did not renew their memory of the fact that there exists another old Church. Hus, indeed, tried to bring about such a reunion, sending his friend Jeronym of Prague to Russia with a view to bringing his own people back to the Greek Church. Rome seceded from us. Protestantism stands on the basis of the Holy Scriptures, but has lost the tradition, whereas we have both. We are descended from the Church of the Ecumenical Councils."

Then he continued: "Inter-ecclesiastical history is much more important than international history, because the life of nations is limited to this earth, whereas a Church is a body constituted both on earth and in heaven. I often think about the question of reunion. It will come first between the Greek Church and Protestantism, not between Rome and the Greek Church. Churches like the Anglican Church and the Greek Church have more psychological affinity with one another than with Rome. Rome is based on subordination, whereas the Eastern Church is based on co-ordination. The Church of Rome is a monarchy and a despotism, whereas

the Greek Church is a federation of fourteen different Churches, a sort of ecclesiastical republic. In this matter of union no Church should be asked to cede something to the other. They must endeavour to recognise one another as perfectly orthodox, as true, i.e., to Scripture and to the spirit of the teachings of the Seven Ecumenical Councils.

“Humanity has been—is—going through awful experiences. Is not this a miracle, that the German philosophy and the whole German spirit have brought that country under the sway of Beelzebub? Yet in our land there is a great revival of religious interest to-day. Russia was under the French influence of Voltaire till 1812: then in a struggle Napoleon was vanquished, and the result was a widespread religious movement. We were again becoming materialistic when the Japanese War and the revolution after the war shook us from our spiritual torpor, and the religious life of the nation was quickened. The same is happening at the present moment. From the court to the peasant’s hut a spiritual movement is in progress.”

If now the question be asked, How is this religious consciousness expressing itself in Russia to-day? I do not think that the answer will be found to differ so very much from the kind of answer that could be truly given in connection with our own country. The religious life of Russia has assuredly been deepened by the war. Men are face to face with the realities of life and death in a degree that compels them to think. The needs of the hour are driving men and women to pray. Far more people are seen in the churches. I recollect in particular a service in the Temple of the Redeemer in Moscow, one of the most beautiful churches in all Russia. It is a church of the people, and was crowded. What impressed me was the very large number of men, particularly of wounded soldiers. They must have outnumbered the women worshippers by nearly ten to one, and it was just

an ordinary service. Then again there has been a remarkable development of interest in the consideration of religious questions. Public lectures have been given by men like Professor Prince Eugène Trubetzkoy, Professor Bulgakoff, and Nikolai Berdyaev, dealing with various aspects of the political and spiritual present and future of Russia : for the two are one there in a degree in which that is true of no other country in the world. These lectures have been attended by crowded audiences, and listened to with an almost strained interest. The demand for religious literature has also greatly increased, although it is mainly satisfied by the sale of the older Russian classics. Yet in one quarter I learned that " the translation of a book called ' The Ideal Life,' by a Mr. Henry Drummond," was especially treasured by those who knew it. Religious conversation has also become much more frequent and natural in drawing-room and trench alike. Such subjects were never very far at any time from the speculative, questing Russian mind : to-day it is no exaggeration to say that they dominate it. Have we a Minister of State who, in discussing the future of a city which was the cradle of Christianity to his people, and therefore regarded with quite a peculiar longing by them, would or could say, " We are a religious people, and I believe that in our branch of the Greek Church there has been preserved a real religious life, whereas the other branches of the Greek Church have become somewhat barren and dogmatic, content with that external crust of things which has been very much for the Greek Church what the Latin theology has been for the Church of the West " ; or in discussing the future of a country would say, as part of his political point of view, " Russia does not want Palestine for herself. Such an attitude is really distinctive of Russia. She could not be imagined as wanting it for herself. Christ's redemption is for all the world ? " Similarly, at the other end of the social scale, religious and political thought blend in the

peasant mind, with the former element as the determinative one, nor do I know any more exquisite expression of the fact than in an incident related by Prince Trubetzkoy in one of the lectures referred to above. It opens avowedly with a discussion of what Constantinople, as expressed in the Church of St. Sophia, has meant and means to Russia, but passes quickly into the larger thought of what Sophia, the Wisdom of God in His purpose of the redemption of humanity, has meant to the world. The whole theme is developed with the haunting mysticism of the Russian mind, and his endeavour is to show how this thought of the salvation of the world through the power of Christ is, as it always has been, close to the heart of the Russian people. "It is no matter for surprise," he says—and this poor translation can give little impression of the beauty of the original—"it is no matter for surprise that the soul of our people was from the earliest times united to the idea of St. Sophia with the greatest hope and with the greatest joy, and it would be vain to think that the deepest sense of this idea can be understood only by intelligent and educated people. On the contrary, for the very highly educated this idea is especially hard to understand: it is much nearer to the life-understanding of our people. As proof of this, take the following personal reminiscence. Four years ago I returned to Russia from a long foreign journey through Constantinople. In the morning in the mosque of St. Sophia they showed me on the wall the imprint of the bloody hand of the Sultan who had shed the blood of Christians in this greatest of the orthodox temples on the very day of the taking of Constantinople. Having killed the worshippers who came there for safety, he wiped his hand on the column, and the bloody imprint is shown there still. Immediately after this visit I went on board a Russian steamer going to Odessa from Palestine, and at once found myself in a familiar atmosphere. On the deck there was gathered a very large group of

Russian peasants—pilgrims returning homewards from the Holy Land. Tired with the long journey, badly dressed and hungry, they were drinking water with hard bread, they were finishing their simple everyday toilet, they were listening, reclining, to tales about Constantinople. They were listening to tales about its churches and, of course, about the bloody Sultan and about the streams of Christian blood which, during more than five centuries, had periodically flowed in this once Christian kingdom. I cannot convey to you how deeply I was moved by what I saw. I saw my own country in Constantinople. There on the mountain had just disappeared the Holy Sophia lighted by the sun, and here before me on the deck was a real Russian village ; and at the moment when our boat gently moved along the Bosphorus with its mosques and minarets, the whole crowd firmly and solemnly but, I do not know why, in a subdued voice, sang ‘Christ is Risen’ (the Easter hymn of the Greek Church liturgy). How deep and long-developed was the instinct which I heard in this singing, and how much of soul understanding there was in it ! What other answer could they find in their souls but this to what they heard about the Temple, about the Turks who defiled it, and of the long-continued persecution of the nation over whom they ruled ? What other answer could they find in their souls in such a country, except this, except their joy in the thought of a common resurrection for all people and for all nations ? I do not know whether they understood their answer. For me it is unimportant whether the peasants thought or not about the Temple itself—it is of Holy Sophia that they were singing. It is important that in their singing the real Sophia was understood so as no single philosopher or theologian could express it. The peasants who sang ‘Christ is Risen’ could scarcely interpret very well what they understood. But in their religious feeling there was more than any deep understanding. They understood

the ferocious Turkish power under which the blood of persecuted peoples flowed : they saw (in their soul) the whole humanity joined in the joy of the Holy Resurrection, but at the same time they felt that they could not express this joy, this hope, which always lives in the soul of the people, now, in the centre of the Turkish power, except with a subdued voice, because so long as this power exists and the temper produced by it, Sophia is still far from us ; she is in a different sphere. But the time will come when heaven will descend to earth, and the eternal idea of humanity will be realised ; then this hymn will sound loud and powerful—this hymn which now you hear in a subdued tone. I think no other proof seems necessary that Sophia lives in the soul of our people. But in order to see and to feel her reality, it is necessary to experience that which these peasants on the steamer felt, and about which they sang.”

Is it at all remarkable that amongst such a people there should be signs of a great religious awakening, none the less wonderful that it is going on so quietly that perhaps as yet the mass of the people know little about it ? One of the Foreign Bible Societies has distributed over three and a half million portions and gospels amongst the soldiers since the beginning of the war. They were sent by the Imperial supply trains to the front, and on the opening page may be found the following inscription : “ This book is given by His Imperial Highness the Tzarevitch Alexei Nikolaevitch, presented by a Sunday-school scholar in America.” Already those who have concerned themselves with the organisation and direction of this distribution have become aware of its issue in a movement which is ultimately due, as one of them said to me, “ to no human means : it is nothing less than the Spirit of God moving amongst the people.” Through letters from the soldiers they learn how in a hospital one has taught his fellows to sing a grace before meals, whilst in a trench the others have gathered round the only member of their

company who happened to get an Evangile, and he reads aloud to them. Yet I do not wish to give any one-sided impression. There is no assemblage in any country to-day, whether camp or commune, where the words of the prophet are not as true as when they were written : "Many shall purify themselves, and make themselves white, and be refined : but the wicked shall do wickedly : and none of the wicked shall understand : but they that be wise shall understand."<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to note that a movement is going on amongst the Greek clergy themselves which, if it continues to progress, will provide a very sympathetic atmosphere for the furtherance of the awakening already described. The movement is not new, and it is confined as yet to very few comparatively, but it is the beginning of a line of advance that history shows cannot be ultimately checked. Already in 1905 there had come into existence a group of priests who were called Priest Renewers (*Svyaschenniki obnovlentzie*). They also published a project for a reformed parish life. In those times the universal cry of the clergy was that the parish life should be renewed. The Holy Synod worked out a scheme for the Duma on this matter. But the project was not considered to be satisfactory either for the Government or for the clergy, and it did not pass. Briefly put, the parish was to be converted into a church—the parish, that is to say, in the sense of a certain congregation of the people who have no right to manage the affairs of their own congregation, the minister (priest) doing all this for the bishop, while the people did not discuss their own needs or conditions. A church, on the other hand, would be a group of people who elect their own minister, and manage their own affairs by their own discussion and vote.

The most distinguished representative of this reforming and regenerating movement in the Orthodox Church

<sup>1</sup> Dan. xii. 10.

to-day is Andreas, Bishop of Ufa. He wants the Church free from officialdom. Svoboda, freedom, the rallying cry of the revolutionaries of 1905, is his catchword. He is especially anxious about the reform of the parochial system, considering that it must be carried out under any circumstances. In Russia the parish priests are elected by the bishops, and the election is confirmed by the Holy Synod. The local clergy, that is to say, are appointed without any reference or regard to the wishes of the people. To Andreas' mind such a system is obsolete. The parishes, he says, must be reformed on the principle of election of the priests by the people, and with a certain autonomy granted to every parish in relation to national interests like education, etc. "We bishops must surrender this right of election to the churches." Again, in the activities of the Holy Synod, the determining voice is that of the Procurator, the lay member, and he is really there to give expression to the wishes of the Imperial Protector of the Church. "Now," say Andreas and his co-thinkers, amongst whom may be numbered Bishop Nikon of Krasnoyarsk and Demetrius of Tauria (Crimea), "this is not canonical. In the early days of the reign of Peter the Great and previously, the Patriarch was free from the bureaucracy, but that great Emperor established the collegium of bishops, and abolished the Patriarchate, replacing it by the Synod, and instituting the office of Procurator. We must return to the older arrangement." When to this we can add that he speaks against the exercise of any kind of intolerance, we can surely look forward to a day of great things in the Greek Church.

The religious condition of the Greek Orthodox Church is, then, indeed promising. Amongst her priests are many in whom there is a longing for the revival and redemption of religious life generally. Amongst her people there are brotherhoods or unions of zealous orthodox souls who gather in special houses, listen to the preaching of par-

ticular priests, and sing evangelical hymns. And when we further consider the definite situation produced by such a step as the prohibition of vodka, we see how, taken in conjunction with this religious temper of her people, yet greater and farther-reaching results may be achieved in this already admirable land. The liquor-traffic reform has left the Russian Government with a concrete yet difficult problem. Vodka and the public-houses have been taken from the people, but little has been done to provide them with good pastimes and reasonable and useful entertainment. The Ministry of the Interior attempted to supply the lack by a project to build People's Palaces in every city. The scheme was submitted to the Council of Ministers by Mr. Maklakoff, a recent Minister of the Interior, but the Council framed a remarkable resolution to the effect that the question cannot be settled merely by building special People's Palaces with cheap entertainments, but that there must also be educational and religious means applied to this end. Under the former are envisaged lecture-halls, libraries, and special evening classes for the village people. With regard to religious means, the Council in a delicate way indicated to the Holy Synod that they are bound to bring definite spiritual influences to bear upon the people, and to provide them with a high religious influence that will fill their lives. It is quite certain that after the war all these questions will be raised and discussed, and a new movement inaugurated amongst the Orthodox Greek Church and the people generally.

Hitherto we have dealt with the Orthodox Church. But Raskol, or dissent, and religious fragmentation generally, have been as characteristic of Russia as of our own country. It testifies indeed to a certain vitality of religious life, but we believe that we are entering a period when the centrifugal tendencies of the past will be replaced by movements that are centripetal. It is so in

Russia to-day. Of the various dissenting bodies, the Old Believers are the most important, of whom there are more than twelve millions, living mostly on the Volga and in Central Russia generally. Their origin goes back to the second half of the seventeenth century, and was in part a protest against the issue of corrected texts of the religious books initiated by the Patriarch Nikon. The most aggressive points of difference between them and the Orthodox Church lie, however, in such futilities of ritual as making the sign of the cross with two fingers instead of with three, or leading the church processions of their clergy "according to the sun" instead of "against the sun." They are intensely literalistic—practically fetichists—in their attitude to the Scriptures, and there is a great development of ritual in their services. On the other hand, their communities choose their own priests, and they have their own bishops, archbishops, and metropolitan, uninterfered with by the Holy Synod; that is to say, they have already secured many of the conditions which Andreas of Ufa desiderates for the Orthodox Church. There is little doubt that a reunion of the Old Believers with the Orthodox Church will come. Already some who look for a great future for their beloved Church, regenerated and transformed, are planning in their minds a local council at which the first steps of this movement will be inaugurated. If the men to whom will be given the direction of such a work include those who have the penetration to say, as one of them said to me, "It is easier to fight with our national enemies than with our prejudices," we can be certain that the thing will be done. And when this is done, and as the movement grows, we may see things even yet more wonderful. Such at any rate are the dreams of those who love their Church in Russia. "I am very pravoslavny (orthodox) myself," writes one of the most devoted of her sons to me, "and I have no doubt of the universal importance of the Russian Church, but you will see this

better in the future. The immediacy of her influence on Russian life depends largely upon our 'intelligent' society; the more quickly they give up their religious indifference, the sooner will that influence be felt. If her spiritual resurrection shall be as fully accomplished as we expect it after such a world-convulsion, then the power of the Russian Church will show itself visibly even on the surface of Russian life."

It will have been observed that throughout this description of religion in Russia to-day, there have been expressions of hope and belief in a regenerated and revitalised Church on the part of those who have supplied us with our subject-matter; nor are they unaware of how all this alone can come. When, however, we still consider such a movement on its purely human side, we cannot altogether refuse to recognise what may be done, and indeed for that matter has been done, for Russia by other bodies, dissenters also, who have no historical connection with the Eastern Orthodox Church. Under the ukaz of 17th April, 1905, the right was given to all subjects who so desired to separate from the Orthodox Church. Of this "Charter of Tolerance" great advantage was taken. Again, the ukaz of 17th October, 1906, gave the right to all dissenters to form their own religious associations, and have their own churches and ministers. It also gave them important personal rights: under it they became individuals before the law. A Church could now found chapels, schools, and other institutions, and own its own property. Protected by these laws, dissenters were able to spread their activities throughout Russia. Further, under the political manifesto of October, 1905—"The Charter of the Constitution"—concerned with the constitution of Russian life generally, and granting the Duma, etc., dissenters, along with the Russian population as a whole, acquired a certain liberty of the Press: they had now the right to publish their own books and periodicals. How great the contrast was

with the condition of affairs previous to 1905 can only be appreciated by those who knew the country before and after. Previous to that year dissenters could not separate officially from the Orthodox Church: such separation was considered to be a crime. The dissenter in this narrower sense of the term, whatever he was, was described in his passport as belonging to the Orthodox Church. The man who announced his separation was tried and sent to Siberia or to Transcaucasia. Any kind of propaganda—preaching, speaking about evangelical religion—was considered a crime. There were no meeting-houses or institutions: no periodicals might be published. All sacred songs were written out on paper, with the exception of certain editions which were issued in the time of Pashkoff in the closing year of the reign of Alexander II. Meetings were arranged in a secret way in Petrograd, with small numbers, and held in private homes and lodgings.

From 1905 onwards, accordingly, there has been a great change. One immediate result was that a great many people who had separated from the Orthodox Church, though described as Orthodox upon their passports, applied for separation. In some cases they tried to gather into communities and associations, and obtain recognition from the Government as a new association. Some of these bodies have founded their own schools and philanthropic institutions, hold their own conferences, publish their own periodicals, tracts, and hymn-books. Now these bodies, although small, cannot have failed to exert some influence upon the activities of the Orthodox Church. Till 1890, for example, there was hardly any preaching in the Orthodox Church: since then preaching has greatly increased, due to the influence exerted on the people by the preaching of Stundists and other dissenters. There is a law of spiritual induction whereby energetic conditions prevalent in one body can influence other bodies in the vicinity without actual contact. It is im-

possible to estimate how far these other bodies may thus react on the “predominant” body, but it is certain that by the Charter of Tolerance Russia permitted the development of a spirit that should eventually work throughout the country for good.

## **THEME VII**

**RUSSIA AND CONSTANTINOPLE**



## THEME VII

### RUSSIA AND CONSTANTINOPLE

“ A peculiar factor is the increasing difficulty of governing the Russian Empire from so completely uncentral a point as St. Petersburg. If the capital of Russia were ever changed, it would be transferred to the shores, or near the shores of the Black Sea. In many of the older Russian maps a certain town upon the Dardanelles is not marked Constantinople, but Tzargrad, i.e. Tzargorod, Tzartown. Is this an earnest of the future ? At any rate it is only a question of time till these things be.” (“ Blackwood’s Magazine,” October, 1898. Article, “ Travel Pictures in the Caucasus,” by the author.)

THE relation, which is also the right, of Russia to Constantinople and the Straits may be considered especially from two points of view: the one economic, the other idealistic. In the case of the former, the importance of such possession is both calculable and immediately obvious. On the other hand, the religious importance of Constantinople to the life of the Oriental Orthodox Church is simply incalculable, and can only be appreciated by those who have endeavoured to assimilate something of the soul of Russia in its development from the past. “ In the Russian Orthodox consciousness,” writes one of her best known and most devoted sons to me, “ Constantinople till now remains the world-centre of Christianity, and therefore it is the natural capital of the future Orthodox Kingdom. With the name of Constantinople are very closely joined the mystical and cultural hopes of the representatives of the real Russian

self-consciousness, such as Tiutchev and Dostoievsky, and these hopes are alive in us to-day with renewed force. Orthodox Russia, which is the spiritual core of the Russian Empire, cannot imagine that Tzargrad could be anything else but Russian as soon as it ceases to belong to Turkey. The failure of this hope will be an unbearable disappointment for Russia, and I know that the British people realise the value of religion and understand that they must consider religious Russia even more than political or 'intelligent' Russia. We believe that if this war puts an end to the old 'epoch of Petrograd'<sup>1</sup> in Russian history, then after the taking of Tzargrad, there will begin a new cultural and historical epoch in Russian life which will give her a new and special place in history. Tzargrad is the spiritual motherland of Russia because it was thence that we got our Christianity ; how can we spurn our motherland ? ”

The claim of a relation which affects the physical and spiritual life of a nation so profoundly and vitally as to constitute a right of possession invites the closest attention. The economic aspect may be regarded as in part an expression of the age-long movement towards open waters that has been a persistent motive in Russian foreign policy. The White Sea and the Arctic Ocean enchained in Polar ice, the Baltic similarly blocked for half the year, the Black Sea closed in yet another way, the land-locked Caspian could not satisfy her, and she sought the far shores of the Pacific, only to find Vladivostok too distant for convenience. We have seen how Serbia, small people though she be, has struggled to get to the sea, and Russia, with her population of 180 millions, choking for a water outlet unhampered by ice or Germany, has experienced an even greater need. In part also there has been throughout the last thousand years a sort of subconscious

<sup>1</sup> i.e. of unbridled bureaucracy, which was really a German importation in the reign of Peter the Great, and is foreign to the sentiment of the Russian people.

mass-tendency of gravitation towards the south and St. Sophia, both in thought and actuality, amongst the Russian people. It is not, therefore, owing to physiological conditions alone that the greatest agricultural and mineralogical development is found in the Southern Governments, although that is the concrete fact, big with consequences which have made the question of an open port almost a matter of life and death for the South. This export of the products of the earth demands a great harbour area and a large tonnage of vessels, for it cannot be done by rail successfully ; the distances are much too great to permit the export of the products of South Russia in any other direction than along the natural route,—the Sea of Azov, the Black Sea, and the Straits. Consequently with every closure of the Dardanelles, for however short a period, the whole industrial and economic life of the South has been disorganised, and millions of rubles have been lost. Russia has been in the position of a man living in his own house, the key to which remained in another's pocket. During the Turko-Italian War, and again during the Balkan Wars, Russia realised keenly what it meant to have the Dardanelles thus arbitrarily closed even for a few weeks. The present war has emphasised the situation in the acutest possible form.

Through the Straits of the Dardanelles are exported the products of a very large part of European Russia, the Caucasus and the Turkestan, as this is the natural highway for the export of these products. The following data illustrate with exactness the importance of the Russian export and import trade through the Straits : the marked diminution of exports in 1912 is due to the Turko-Italian and Balkan Wars.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the data in these paragraphs I am indebted to Mr. A. Raffalovich, Permanent Head of the Ministry for Commerce and Industry.

				Value of the total export from Russia.	Value of the export that passed through the Straits.
				(in millions of rubles).	
1903	.	.	.	1001	410
1904	.	.	.	1006	410
1905	.	.	.	1007	406
1906	.	.	.	1094	378
1907	.	.	.	1053	386
1908	.	.	.	998	345
1909	.	.	.	1427	565
1910	.	.	.	1449	565
1911	.	.	.	1591	568
1912	.	.	.	1518	433

				Value of the total import to Russia.	Value of the import to Russia that passed through the Straits.
				(in millions of rubles).	
1903	.	.	.	682	71
1904	.	.	.	651	70
1905	.	.	.	635	67
1906	.	.	.	801	74
1907	.	.	.	847	73
1908	.	.	.	913	66
1909	.	.	.	906	67
1910	.	.	.	1084	76
1911	.	.	.	1162	87
1912	.	.	.	1172	83

From the above data, it can be seen that on an average about 37 per cent of the total Russian export was exported through the Straits in the last decade, the import being equal on the average to 8 per cent. For a certain number of products, however, the export through the Dardanelles has a much greater importance, for Russia, than is shown by the mere data. For instance, from Russia by that route is exported over all about 90 per cent of the total export of wheat, 85 per cent of the total export of barley, 95 per cent of the total export of manganese ore, 80 per cent of the total export of naphtha products,

55 per cent of the total export of iron ore, 45 per cent of the total export of methylated spirits, etc. Another point that should be taken into consideration is that about 98 per cent of all the goods that are transported on Russian ships between Russian and other ports (coasting trade) have to pass through the Straits.

The importance for Russia of the sea route through the Dardanelles will constantly increase since with the construction of new railway lines in the South (Odessa-Bakhmach, Kharkov-Cherson, as well as in the Caucasus and Turkestan, etc.), and of the projected canal between the rivers Volga and Don, and the water route between the Baltic and the Black Seas, there will be created a great quantity of new products, that will tend to be exported through the Black Sea and the Dardanelles. One cannot, of course, deny that other countries have economical interests in the passage of the Straits and in Constantinople which is one of the greatest commercial ports in the world, but the interests of Russia in the Dardanelles are more important by far, since they touch the most vital sides of the economic life of that country. Every time that Turkey has been at war, Russia has had to suffer greatly from the closing of the Dardanelles for free trade. The loss occasioned to Russia from that fact is estimated to have reached about one million rubles per day during the closing of the Straits for commercial navigation during a certain period of the Turko-Italian and the Balkan Wars. To the same cause is to be attributed in great part the fact that the commercial balance of Russia in 1912 was one hundred million rubles lower than that of the three preceding years (according to the draft budget of 1914).

From the days of the Crimean War till recently our policy in relation to Russia has been consistently unfortunate. Whether in the matter of the Dardanelles or at Port Arthur, its motive has been to thwart, largely because we did not understand, and partly because we

feared. In connection with Constantinople we shall have an opportunity for generous action which may well become the basis of a future perfect understanding. Suppose that we have welcomed her to Tzargrad and agreed to her occupying such territory as is necessary to secure her possession of the city and the Straits. In what way are we affected, even if we agree to her fortifying the Straits of Constantinople and the Dardanelles as the simplest and least costly method of defending the Black Sea littoral, thus making the Black Sea practically another inland Russian Sea ?

In the first place, it is quite certain that the fear of letting Russia into the Mediterranean has been misplaced, because Russia is the only country in the world which is geographically mother country and colonies in one. She has enormous areas, e.g. in Siberia, the Urals, and Turkestan, with a very scant population, yet with all the conditions for housing the surplus population of some of her European districts. Russia has already too much territory to want more ; indeed the size of the country is the great drawback to its intensive cultivation. It would be a real peril to Russia to increase her territory largely. But further, there is no country that is *au fond* so democratic as Russia, and sooner or later this spirit will enter into the decision of the country's destinies. Its people will not be aggressive militarists, for that is not in their nature. Russia will have the key in her pocket, but she will use it for the purpose of keeping her own house safe, not with a view to getting into anybody else's. Great Britain's keys are Suez and Gibraltar, and Russia does not want them ; she knows full well that we could lock her in with either of them. But she is not a maritime nation, and cherishes no wish to possess a great navy.

In the second place, Russia does not want the Straits to close them, but to keep them open and to welcome all there. She wants to export into the highly populated

countries. The open Straits mean cheaper food for Britain. Russia would never close the Straits without the most serious reason, because it is she herself who would feel first and most deeply the effects of such a step. She further realises that there is some probability of a temporary decline in the prosperity of Constantinople after it passes into her hands, ceasing to be the capital of an Empire, and henceforth used mainly as a place of call. It is therefore probable that she will do everything to encourage Rumania inside, and other nations outside the Straits, to develop commerce with and through Constantinople. Hitherto Russia has not seemed particularly anxious to hold to such traditions as she had ; she has rather sought her inspiration from the West. To-day she begins to appreciate afresh her own tradition, and her spirit, in which consist her real riches, develops anew. It is not impossible that this rediscovery of herself may be expressed in a change of capital to Moscow or Kiev or, less probably, farther south. But the complete ending of the "epoch of Petrograd" will be due rather to that spiritual envisaging of things which is at once the mainspring and the safeguard of the Russian desire for Constantinople.

"The thought of Constantinople is the ozone in the spiritual atmosphere of our people. It has been in their minds all through their history. It is the cradle of their Christianity. From there they got not merely their religion but much of their culture. Their history, when you consider how important were the various Tatar invasions, resolves itself in their minds into one long warfare between the Crescent and the Cross. Towards the restoration of the Cross upon the dome of St. Sophia the heart of the Russian people goes out in deep devotion as a great symbolic act." These words, expressing the loftiest political viewpoint in Russia to-day, are little different from the theme worked out by Professor Prince Eugène Trubetzkoy in a pamphlet to which reference has already

been made,<sup>1</sup> and which is the most distinctive Russian contribution to the political literature of the war known to the writer. From this point we may well endeavour to follow its argument.

Prince Trubetzkoy begins by showing how, literally, in virtue of its geographical and historical position, Constantinople is economically, politically, and religiously Tzargrad—Town of Towns—to Russia. As domination of the Straits is necessary as security for her daily bread, and the possession of Constantinople is necessary as a condition of Russia's imperial power and importance, so the Temple of St. Sophia expresses that for which the whole meaning of Russian life exists, the sole justification of her being, and that for which she conducts the present struggle. All the questions of Russian life and the present war are subsumed in this, Will it be possible for Russia to restore the defiled Temple in the sense of again showing to the world the light extinguished by the Turks ?

In the luminous mind of the author, interpreting the religious consciousness of his people, 'Sophia' symbolises the Wisdom of God in creation, and it takes the form of a woman, St. Sophia, because that Wisdom has shown itself at its highest at this present stage in mankind. Therein lies the paradox of "the humanity of the divine Wisdom," whose purpose however of filling the whole world with herself and binding together the whole of humanity in one thought is not yet accomplished. "Humanity united by the Spirit of God in one whole, and in this form become like God—this is the highest expression of God's project for the world, and this is what must eventually reign in the world." "The humanity of God"—that is what was precious to our ancestors in their representation of St. Sophia, and was found by them not only in the mural paintings of her, but pervading the whole religious consciousness of Orthodox Christianity, so that the worshipper comes into con-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 187.

tact not with an abstract world, but with the real living world of God and man, peopled by living images. Thus in 'Sophia' are included a call and a religious ideal—a call to the realisation of that ideally perfect, pure and entire humanity which our ancient ikonopists, Greek and Russian, figured as St. Sophia sitting on the throne, that humanity which is worthy to be eternal, and worthy to rule over creation. But as yet humanity is torn in pieces; it is not one humanity. Nation fights against nation; even their faiths are at war. Humanity is sinful and therefore mortal. But those who were aware of the Spirit, who painted St. Sophia, saw humanity holy and therefore immortal, one and entire. Restoration of the broken whole of humanity and so of all creation—for this burn the hearts of those who have seen the Spirit. This were, however, indeed a resurrection to a new life, and this is the purpose and progressive achievement of 'Sophia'—the uniting of humanity and the entire world into one living whole, "a living spiritual organism," rather than an abstract unity of the human race, "a communion of beings joined by the Spirit of God in one living substance."

The writer then passes on to deal with the concrete situation. Constantine saw that heathen Rome had power over the nations in its own name. His wish was that his town should have as the foundation of its power the union of the nations in the name of Christ and through the Church; his hope was that his town would have the power of the wisdom of Christ, not the power of its own name, like Rome. With its position in the centre of the highways of the nations, 'Sophia' means just what should unite all nations and serve as the beginning of their united kingdom. 'Sophia,' the Wisdom of God, is the foundation of the united Christian kingdom, and the idea of St. Sophia is organically connected with this place. How then did St. Sophia fall into Turkish hands? The possibility can only be explained by the fact that

the Christian Empire lost its essential spirituality, and the real 'Sophia' lived no longer in Christian souls. The material loss of the Temple to the Turks was only the symbol of the ideal spiritual loss. 'Sophia' is lost at present and has gone into a far off region, but she will return to shine on the earth when there will be a new humanity worthy to accept her. The Christian people who are going to have possession of Tzargrad must have that in their soul in name of which the plaster with which the Turks overlaid the painting of St. Sophia<sup>1</sup> can be removed—they must be worthy of it; because by this action they light again the light extinguished by the Turks. It is not enough for them to let the image be seen; they must let it be seen in their deeds. Only those can have possession of Constantinople who previously have possession of its spiritual meaning.

He then states that, after the introduction of Christianity into Russia, the connection between Russia and St. Sophia found its expression in establishing churches dedicated to her in old Russian towns. The image of St. Sophia was preserved alike in the religious consciousness and in art. Thus the idea of the Christian kingdom as it should be exists in the Russian popular consciousness. "This religious-political idea, as you know, survived the fall of Constantinople, and was linked to the dream about Moscow as the third Rome in place of the fallen second Rome (i.e. Constantinople). And so comes about that mixture of true and false universal Christianity and heathen nationalism which you can see till now in the Russian religious consciousness."

Such nationalism is, however, opposed to the whole idea of St. Sophia—is an active negation of it. In the idea of St. Sophia all the nations of humanity are gathered into one whole; in her not only all people but nations are called to reign together. In the idea of St. Sophia

<sup>1</sup> He explains at some length how the Turks did not destroy the representation of St. Sophia, but overlaid it with plaster.

you can see the idea of God about humanity which disclosed itself on the day of Pentecost. Then were gathered together in Jerusalem all peoples, and every one of them could understand the language of the apostles as if it were his own. This unity of all languages in the mind of God is understood by the religious consciousness in St. Sophia. On the other hand, nationalism is the negation of this united humanity because it puts one nation above the others.

The complete fulfilment of the idea of St. Sophia on earth is at the same time the complete transformation of all things terrestrial, the final victory over sin and death, and the general holy resurrection in Christ. It is clear that the full revelation of this sacred ideal cannot be made within the limits of our terrestrial existence. And so for the humanity of to-day only a partial and imperfect understanding of "Sophia" is possible—only a slight reflection of her future glory. But to secure even this degree of imperfect reflection of her in the life of nations, they must be ready for great deeds and for moral advance. One absolute condition is quite necessary for the people who want to base their religion and their mission on "Sophia." They must show by deed that they really have in their soul the understanding of the idea of a humanity overcoming through Christ, because that is the first thing about which the image of St. Sophia speaks.

The quarrels of fratricidal nations living according to the laws of animals make quite impossible the realisation of this vision of humanity united in God. Nationalism is the first and essential cause that prevents the realisation of "Sophia" in the life of nations. Therefore the surrender of nationalism is a necessary condition of passive attainment, without which it is quite impossible to serve "Sophia."

From this point of view the fate of St. Sophia in Constantinople and the historical future of Russia linked with it can be quite clearly understood. Historically

the question of the Straits for Russia is linked with two other questions :

1. With the question of her mission for the liberation of other peoples, and

2. With the decision of a whole series of national questions within her own territory.

At this point the argument becomes very detailed and particular. "In 1878 the road to Constantinople lay through Bulgaria ; why could we not accomplish our purpose in spite of being at her gates ? Because we did not understand in a sufficiently deep way what a national question is. We were not afraid of England ; we were partly afraid of Austria ; the real danger was in our mistaken sharing in the partition of Poland. Austria drew all her power from Slav dissent. Once the Slav people are united she has received her death sentence. The dissent is due in great part to Russia, because she took part in the partition of Poland. Russia should have given Poland her independence. Bulgaria expected Russian help against the Turks in '78, and did not get it. Russia's sharing in the partition of Poland was the principal obstacle in preventing her getting Constantinople. In 1878, after the Treaty of Berlin, it was quite clear that our road to Constantinople now lay through Austria and Germany, and that Russia must restore the national unity of Poland before she could get Austria beaten. The connection between the possession of Constantinople and the restoration of Poland is both logical and real. This war shows that one nation cannot lord it over others ; every nation has a right to its own self-individuality. And besides, Constantinople is, at the present moment, one of the universal centres of the union of those peoples who consider other small nations as a prey for their exploitation. Possible conditions for Russia's getting Constantinople, are the restoration of Poland, the liberation of Armenia, and the defence of Serbia ; as also the assistance of Rumania, and Greece

and Italy in self-aspiration—yes, even Bulgaria.<sup>1</sup> So also with Belgium and France (Alsace and Lorraine)—there is a work of liberation and restoration to be done there in which we can assist. In fact there is not a nation that is not connected in some way with the question of Constantinople. These conditions are all really one ; you must give back their fatherland to all nations that have been enslaved, and others who are under threat of such enslavement claim our help.

“Only as the general liberator of the small nations and as their helper, can Russia get Constantinople and the Straits. This act can only be thought of as the last stage in the liberation of the peoples. Only in the name of this universal liberation has Russia the right to be crowned with the crown of Tzargrad. On any other condition the nations cannot consent to her possession of Constantinople, and even if she gets it for a short time a revolt against her is quite inevitable otherwise (i.e. if the small nations are not freed). In the hands of a weak Turkey Constantinople was not a danger to the neighbouring peoples ; but in the hands of a powerful State it gives a possibility of mastery in the most important arena of the world. Such a town as this which can change the Black Sea into a Russian lake, and make Russia a great Mediterranean State, and give her the most powerful position in relation to the Balkan Peninsula, Asia Minor, and in general the whole eastern part of the Mediterranean, is indeed the Tzargrad (Emperor Town). It is evident that the nations are afraid of such power in the hands of Russia ; it is evident also that the nations can accept it only on one condition. Russia has to do something to change this fear into confidence. From the Russian Empire, when in possession of Constantinople, they must not expect slavery or oppression. On the contrary, she must be friendly to them and a powerful protector and defender of their independence.

<sup>1</sup> The pamphlet was published early in 1915.

There are only two alternatives : either our possession of Constantinople will really bring about the great fact of the liberation of nations, or it cannot be realised at all. Russia can get Constantinople only by being the leader in the universal liberating movement of the nations. She can possess it only by being the State liberator.

“So we have a striking example of the importance of ideas as a factor in history. Not for her narrow national selfish aims, but in the name of a supra-national universal idea can Russia get Tzargrad and the Straits. For this purpose she must get the victory over her own national egoism, and find in herself a spiritual power higher than that of the nations whom she is fighting, for Tzargrad cannot be separated from the idea of the Kingdom of God. Because of its central position it is the cause of different fears and hopes on the part of other nations. So, also, it must serve not the despotic power of one nation over others, but all humanity. A Russian Tzargrad can only be accepted as the centre of freed nations ; otherwise Constantinople has to perish ; for if it begins to be a danger to the independence of its neighbours, the common danger will bring about a general coalition, which will have a tragic ending for us.

“Such is the connection between the question of Tzargrad and the liberating mission of Russia. But that is only one side of the deeper cultural and social task which in the Russian religious mind is connected with the idea of ‘Sophia.’ The freedom of individuals or nations is not an aim in itself, but only the means ; only faith in the absolute dignity of the individual as the lord (lit. Tzar) of creation justifies a liberating struggle or a liberating war. But this crowning of the individual and of humanity is just what our religious mind finds and understands in ‘Sophia.’ The eternal idea of God about man and the race is just that in virtue of which the individual deserves to be free.

“The realisation of freedom in the mutual relations

amongst peoples and nations is not, however, the realisation of the idea of 'Sophia' ; because to liberate does not necessarily mean to unite in spirit. The liberated nations might remain apart in spirit. They can use their liberty for good and for evil, and so in their life they can stay very far from the ideal of humanity which is understood by the religious mind in the idea of St. Sophia. But still it is not difficult to understand why in the general worship of 'Sophia' the struggle for the liberation of nations is the necessary condition and the first step.

“ 'Sophia' is the image of God in the individual and in humanity. He who has the image in his soul, who sees it in every individual and nation, cannot bear any lessening of human dignity. All injustice to humanity rouses wrath in the heart of him who in devotion understands 'Sophia.' If Russia is willing to suffer for this and is ready for great deeds, it shows that she has raised the altar to 'Sophia' in her soul, and we can hope that her attempt to restore this altar and make it visible to the whole world in Tzargrad will have success.”

The final pages are devoted to the enquiry whether there has been, and is, any evidence of such effort in Russian national life towards spiritual purification, if there are any signs of readiness on her part for great deeds and for sacrifice. To speak of such a purification as already accomplished would be quite vain and culpable pride. Yet there are proofs which show that this purification has commenced. At any rate in some points we see a great difference between contemporary Russia and the Russia of 1878 as she was at the gates of Tzargrad. “The former Russia was in the power of two great enemies of the image of God in the individual—animal-like nationalism and drink. Now, thanks to God, we are in the way for liberation from these two tyrants.” He specifies the Beyliss process (February, 1914), when “by the verdict of the jury the Russian consciousness got free from the very grave sin of human hatred. Russia

openly acknowledged the human dignity of the nation which gave birth to Christ, and has understood its human soul. And that is why the verdict of the jury was release at the same time for herself ; in this verdict she found her spiritual justification."

"One year more and we see another step towards the same aim. The word of the Commander-in-Chief made reference to the task of Russia in giving bodily resurrection to a dismembered Poland. In 1878 we failed to do this. Bringing our gift to the altar of St. Sophia we forgot that everyone bringing his gift to the altar should first have made peace with his brother, and our gift was rejected. But to-day when we are trying to make peace with Poland and have spilt our blood for her, we may hope our gift will be accepted."

The third reference concerns itself with the effects of prohibition. "All this, however," he concludes, "is nothing but a drop compared with the whole of that for which Russia must be ready if she desires to serve her ideal. He who understands 'Sophia' even a little as his aim, feels himself like the man who has no dress wherewith to enter the wedding feast. But still the soul is full of hope that sooner or later we shall attain our ideal. This hope is encouraged by the news which we get about great deeds on the field of battle.

"An important social worker who came recently to Moscow from Galicia and Poland gave me his impressions. 'If you have doubt about Russia, leave the rear of the army and go to the trenches. *There* are no doubters. *There* are no generals, officers or soldiers. *There* is only an obscure crowd of mujiks, dressed alike, alike steadfast and sure, alike ready to die for what they consider holy.'

"My conversationalist was right. In face of death people feel and understand much more deeply than we, that for which we live and die. This great aim which unites the whole of Russia is more real there than here. For that reason they demonstrate the victory of the

Russian spirit over German technique. We know the shrine which works these miracles. If you think about these many millions of obscure peasants you can understand that we all have the same holy ideal, the same about which the Russian peasants were singing on the Bosphorus at the gate of St. Sophia.<sup>1</sup> Sooner or later we will hear this song in the Temple itself. St. Sophia herself who lives in the soul of the people will lead thither the Russian army. Then the hymn of the Holy Resurrection will announce the great day of the liberation of nations.”

<sup>1</sup> See p. 188.



**POSTLUDE**



## POSTLUDE

IF now these pages indicate anything, it is that there is a land waiting to be possessed, a land of spiritual and of material wealth. In a nobler and a deeper sense than their ancestors,<sup>1</sup> the Russian people invite our co-operation in many different directions. Yet it is apparently difficult for some of us to overcome the attitude of six decades, and as one has been hauntingly reminded by a Russian ex-Ambassador, "England has never made permanent alliances." Nevertheless, there is no reason why the present Entente should not be lasting. All Russian ambitions will be satisfied with the Straits opened up and in her hands. The idea of an advance by her upon India is a fantasy. The answer to the question as to whether Russia ever could or would act like Germany to-day is found not merely in an analysis of the Russian temperament, but in the consideration of the motives underlying Germany's aggression. This in itself brings out great differences between Russia and Germany. Germany is a country for which expansion is and was indispensable : on the other hand, how many generations must pass before Russia has thoroughly developed the enormous territories that she holds, e.g. in Siberia and Trans-Caspia ! Her imperialism is intensive : the imperialism of Germany is extensive and therefore aggressive. For Germany the question has been in the first instance a material rather than a moral one. Yet even in relation to this last aspect, Russia did everything possible to avert the war. The war touches everyone in Russia, touches her people not

<sup>1</sup> See p. 4.

once but twice or thrice, because it is the war of everyone to put an end to the German danger and pretensions for ever.

In the extreme Orient, Britain and Russia have the same motives, at once conservative and in the best interests of civilisation. There is nothing in the East to militate against our close union with Russia. Russia will need much foreign capital after the war. The Germans have been filtering into the country for many decades. The state of matters is at present abnormal—they are gone. But it is evident that in the end the Russian Government will have to choose between politics and business, unless Britain takes steps to cement the union on the basis of furnishing capital, and in other ways.

“In Asia we must go hand in hand. If the fundamental principle of doing nothing without agreement and consultation between the Governments was permanently agreed to, there could be no possible future cause of misunderstanding. In Persia there can be no trouble, because we have separate spheres of influence. With regard to Palestine, what is vital to Russia is the modality in government alone. The interest of Russia in Palestine is religious ; it is not political in any way. All that she wants is perfect religious liberty—freedom for her pilgrims in their worship and ministrations there.

“Russia is the protector of Armenia against Turkey. She is sympathetic towards the Armenian people, and has no thought of annexation in connection with their territory, viz. those regions in Asia Minor where they have lived alongside the Turks and Kurds. There must of course be rearrangements of the population to some extent. But Russia wishes Armenia to live her own life with autonomy.”

Finally, “there never has been any genuine Pan-Slavism in the sense of a real desire to build up a Pan-Slavist cosmos that will dominate and rule the world. Such an idea is simply one of the German manufactures in our country. Our only desire is that these smaller

nationalities in the Near East shall live in peace and happiness, developing their own life as they desire, and for ever free from the terrible tyranny of Austria, and her method of sowing mutual mistrust amongst them.” And that, too, is the desire of Britain. Perhaps, after all, we are nearer than we think to the days of unforced permanent alliances for supra-national ends.



## APPENDIX

Note 1 (p. 52).

The reference is to the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, which provides that the following shall be deemed to be natural-born British subjects : “ Any person born out of His Majesty’s dominions, whose father was a British subject at the time of that person’s birth and either was born within His Majesty’s allegiance or was a person to whom a certificate of naturalization had been granted.” [Section I (1) (b)].

The effect of this is that, whereas formerly *two* generations of persons born abroad of British descent on the male side could claim British nationality, persons of the second generation born abroad on and after the commencement of the new Act (1 January, 1915) are not to be regarded as British subjects, but as statutory aliens. The status of persons born before January, 1915, is however not affected by this provision, and they remain British subjects if they possessed that status when the Act came into operation. Or, to put the matter more concretely : A, born in His Majesty’s dominions, and consequently a natural-born British subject, has issue B, born *outside* His Majesty’s dominions, but a British subject. B has issue C and D, both born outside His Majesty’s dominions, C before the commencement of the new Act, D after that date. In terms of the Act, C is a British subject, D is an alien. Further, the administration of the Act is chiefly in the hands of the *Home* Office.

Note 2 (p. 52).

There is, in particular, one direction in which Russia could assist Great Britain and her own balance of trade at the

same time, and that is in connection with the supply of timber. Russia has been termed "The Land of Forests." At the end of the war, there will be a very great demand for timber of the kind she can produce in large amounts—pine and fir—for rebuilding the towns, villages, and homesteads devastated in the war zones. The great forests in North European Russia, in Finland, and in the Taiga belt in Siberia represent enormous areas of unexploited material of this description. Many of these areas are practically inaccessible, owing to the scant population and lack of means of communication. To open up these sources of wealth, capital will be required. In 1913 Great Britain imported £15,000,000 worth of forestry material from Russia. Owing to the increased price of timber and the large demands which will inevitably arise at the close of the war, the demands for forestry material by Great Britain and her Allies will be very great. If capital is forthcoming, Russia should be able, by tapping hitherto unexploited areas, to supply these demands at reasonable prices, and thus prevent the Central Powers, who have great forest reserves and are confidently counting on recovering trade by means of them, from making a "corner" in the timber markets.

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